ALEXANDER N. TSIRINTANIS ON THE PRESENT AGE

By STANLEY S. HARAKAS

Alexander N. Tsirintanis, whose views concerning the ills of the present age I shall analyze in this article, was born, raised, and educated in Greece, and is at present a professor at the Law School of the University of Athens. He is a member of the Greek Orthodox Church, and a man of deep and vigorous piety. His main non-academic activity appears to be his association with the Christian Union of Professional Men of Greece. This organization is a branch of the broad Christian movement in Greece known as "Zoe." This particular organization is comprised of professional men and women of Christian faith who meet regularly in an attempt to learn as much as possible concerning their Christian faith, to search out ways of applying it to their work, and to deepen the bonds of Christian love with their co-workers. Included in their group are natural scientists, professors of Medical, Law, and Technical Schools, artists, musicians and authors. One of the leading lights of this movement is Alexander Tsirintanis. His major work has been done in association with the monthly publication of the Christian Union of Professional Men,² entitled Aktines, a Greek word meaning "light rays" or "sun beams." Under the pseudonym of P. Melitis, he has been writing the main article in each issue for all the years of its publication, with few exceptions. In the index of each volume these articles are characterized as «ἄρθρα γραμμῆς», that is, articles which express the basic conviction and position of the periodical and the Christian Union of Professional Men. Professor Tsirintanis might be characterized, thus, as the theoretician of the Union.

After the second world war, he began a new series of articles based on the attempt to analyze why this tragedy befell our western civilization. This blossomed out into a complete analysis of the social problems of our age. In 1950 some of these articles were translated, rewritten and completed by an addition of new material. This material

¹ There are no clergymen in this part of the "Zoe" movement. It is completely lay conducted.

² Publication began in 1938 and continued through the German occupation of Greece, 1941-1945.

³ In Greek, II. Melitms.

was published in English under the title Towards a Christian Civilization in the name of the Christian Union of Professional Men. Its author, Professor Tsirintanis, remained anonymous to the general public.

During the war some of the members of the group met secretly and discussed the problems of the Greek people. The result of these discussions was prepared by Professor Tsirintanis for publication. It was published in December of 1946 under the title of A Declaration of the Christian Union of Professional Men.⁴ Again, its author, Alexander Tsirintanis, remained anonymous. In essence, this book is a popular apologetic, with its main emphasis on the relationship between science and religion, though there are certain sections which prove valuable for this study.

In 1947, a small pamphlet, containing three of Professor Tsirintanis' articles which originally appeared in *Aktines*, was published under the title *Christianity and Politics*.⁵

The major source material for this paper is to be found in the articles by Professor Tsırintanis in the periodical Aktines from January of 1946 to April of 1955 and the book Towards a Christian Civilization.

Professor Tsirintanis was a member of the preparatory Commission, Number VI (The Laity—The Christian in His Vocation), for the World Council of Churches' Second Assembly at Evanston in July of 1954.

In presenting Professor Tsirintanis' analysis of the present age, we will see first how he describes it, what things seem to appear on the surface which call his attention to it, and what make it appear a tragedy to him.⁶ Then we will attempt to see the causes of this situation.

* * *

The first thing that strikes the person who consciously examines the phenomena of our twentieth century is that "the man of today is a failure." He has not only failed to solve any of the basic problems which interest man, but he has also not been able to show any progress

^{4 «}Διαχήρυξις τῆς Χριστιανιχῆς 'Ενώσεως 'Επιστημόνων».

^{5 «}Χριστιανισμός καί Πολιτική».

⁶ The comparison of articles written in 1946 with articles written in 1948 and 1950 shows an increasingly pessimistic approach to this question.

⁷ P. Melitis, "The Meaning of Our Age," Aktines, IX, September 1946, p. 257.

over the past in these problems. In fact, he has been able to show only a tragic backwardness. As an individual he is, generally speaking, without peace, which is the basic element of happiness.8 That modern man is pained, nervous, ill-at-ease, is generally accepted. Would that we could say that he was an ethically better man than the man of the past. But the exact opposite occurs. An inferiority rules over man today, an inferiority which can be seen everywhere. Before the ruins which have filled Europe from end to end (he is writing this right after World War II), the twentieth century man deeply senses the internal fragmentation which makes up his inner being. But even if we ignore this internal aspect of the problem and look only to the external aspects, where do we not see disintegration? Economic wretchedness with all of its terrible consequences, governmental derangement, political unbalance, peace which hangs by a thread, insecurity as regards the morrow, fear which paralyzes the knees and destroys every productive vision. Joy for work has disappeared, science is everywhere without hope regarding the use of its creations, and the scientist long ago has ceased to be the leader of society. Art and literatue are clearly decadent; so much so, that they no longer seek contact with the soul of man. Wherever you stand, failure; wherever you look, ruins.

It is true that it is not the first time that a period in history has experienced such a situation, Tsirintanis notes. But, in spite of that fact, this age of ours is unique in quite a few points which make the situation all the more tragic.9 First of all, the aspects of the situation of the tragedy of the twentieth century which make it so unique is the "unprecedented extent and intensity, the unprecedented width and depth of this tragedy." 10 Another equally evident fact is that the special creation of the twentieth century, technical progress, has been the instrument of this destruction. For the first time men seriously consider the problem of collective suicide. "It does not matter whether this fear will come to pass. What matters is fear itself, as a psychological fact, which is characteristic of our age. Modern man yearns for the time when the destructive powers were without the benefit of an unprecedented technical progress." 11 Third, even more generally, this tragedy occurred in the most progressive civilization ever to exist, a civilization which had a heritage of twenty centuries of scientific and

⁸ The remainder of this paragraph is based on The Declaration, pp. 14-16.

⁹ See either the article "Our Age Faces History," Aktines, XI, May 1948, pp. 209-214, or Towards a Christian Civilization, pp. 19-23, which have many common points.

¹⁰ Towards a Christian Civilization, p. 21.

¹¹ *Ibid*.

cultural production. Fourth, in no other age has education been so widespread. Through it the civilization of generations became known to the general public. All of this has been thrown over. The civilization of generations, then the refinement of military into peaceful manners, and then the agelong cultivation of the ideals of justice, of freedom of thought, of freedom of expression, which was won with blood in centuries past—all this was the inheritance from so many centuries. What our age has seen is not barbarism. It is not Attıla or Tamurlaine. It is something much worse than any of their deeds. It is retrobarbarism! 12 The fifth and last characteristic which in Tsirintanis' point of view appears to make the tragedy of our age unique is that it appears that, in spite of the superb level of our technical civilization, the tragedy we face is completely unjustified. It should not have happened according to all calculations. It appears to many as an inexplicable fact. But there has to be a meaning, a cause which can be found.

* * *

What then is the cause of this condition of our age? 18 Many have given superficial answers to this question, and Tsirintanis summarily does away with some of the more common attempts. He puts aside first any idea of fatalism, since this is merely an attempt to get away from any true search for causation. Also quickly brushed aside is the contention that the war caused the evils of the age. But the simple question: "What caused the war?" is enough to invalidate this explanation. Much the same must be said for those who blame the dictators. "But the question is why do the dictators find such willing followers? Finally the question is not, why do tyrants exist, but why do there exist so many men who offer to become slaves?" 14 Nor does the explanation that the modern age is a result of technical progress suffice to explain the cause of the situation. For if we would accept this, it means we must destroy all of our technical knowledge and return to nature something no one is willing to do. The real question here is why we used this technical progress for our destruction. None of these explanations is sufficient.

There is another, more sober attempt at explaining the contemporary situation and this is the contention that our age is the result of causes involved in the production and distribution of economic goods.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 22.

¹⁸ See Towards a Christian Civilization, pp. 24-26, and "Our Age Faces History," Aktines, XI, May 1948, pp. 209-214.

¹⁴ Towards a Christian Civilization, p. 25.

"Economic reasons, or in simpler words, hunger, is what the warmongers put forward as an excuse (for the wars), while the terrific expenditure that these wars require shows how ridiculous this excuse is. Hungry people cannot—at least by themselves— prepare modern wars, and whoever can, surely is able to find out the means of satisfying his peoples' hunger. This war psychosis was not a psychosis of empty stomachs. On the contrary, it was a psychosis of conquest and world domination. . . . Empty stomachs are only effects, not causes." ¹⁵

Thus Tsirintanis rejects fatalism, war, dictators, technical progress and economic factors as the basic underlying factor of the contemporary situation as he sees it. And he does this because none of these explanations reach to the roots of the problem. He writes, "If we wish to see why our civilization has become bankrupt, we must continue our search for its cause to the depths, to the foundations of our civilization." This attempt to uncover the foundations of our civilization will lead us directly to Tsirintanis' view of the fundamental cause of the evils of our age.

According to Tsirintanis, in order to arrive at this fundamental cause, it is necessary to avoid false explanations. The real cause of our material failure is not material. Our age has been highly blessed with material goods which should have brought us happiness and success. We must find the cause elsewhere. And there is only one other place to look. "Our material failure has as its cause our spiritual failure. Our technical civilization has not aided us because we had no spiritual civilization, and we had no spiritual civilization—the logic progresses inexorably—because the spiritual orientation of modern man was mistaken, false. . . ."¹⁷

And what was this orientation? The orientation of modern man was the *denial* of all spiritual values, especially as they were represented in their highest form in Christianity. During the past two or three centuries, a negative gospel let loose a violent and many sided attack which had as its object the Christian foundation of mankind. The attack was even more vicious than the pagan attacks and those attacks which were made in the name of some established religion. "This negation was something unique in human history. . . . This naked and unabashed negation came and fought the Christian Faith within

¹⁶ Thid.

¹⁶ P. Melitis, "Our Age Faces History," p. 213.

¹⁷ P. Melitis, "The Meaning of Our Age," pp. 260-261.

the soul of modern man and took upon itself the spiritual leadership of that man.¹⁸

This negation had two expressions. The first was direct. It was the spread of materialism. Though materialism had existed as a philosophical system for many ages, it became important during the period of Feuerbach (1848), when for the first time men sought to make it a foundation of civilization. The one hundred percent pure materialism of this time, 19 as developed to its logical end, "was a consistent and direct negation of spiritual values." Therefore, Tsirintanis concludes, "we may say in short that materialism is a directly negative foundation of life." 20 There is, though, a second and indirect expression of this negation. It does not deny outright the spiritual values. On the contrary it contends that it supports them. Words such as "spirit," "idea," and "idealism" are always in its literature. For here, something different occurs. Outspoken negation is substituted for by a process of betrayal from within - by an undermining of the real meaning of these words. "This 'idealistic' negation strikes the foundation of the spiritual values, the Christian faith. It leaves these values without foundation, ready to fall at the first breath of wind. Thus, the 'spirit' becomes, from the power of life, a mere word, at most, a dead syllogistic form, with which you can write books, but never lay a foundation for actual living." 21 What he is condemning here are those men of the "spirit" who have no metaphysic which includes a spiritual reality as distinguished from an epiphenomenal aspect of physical and material existence.

It was this sort of anti-Christian negation which in the past years guided the affairs of men. On the one hand, therefore, our age has been characterized by a material and cultural failure; on the other, this selfsame age has allowed itself to come under the guidance of negation. This is the crux of Tsirintanis' thought. "... It is time that we learn," he writes, "that these two facts which characterize the form of modern history do not stand separate one from another, but they have a relationship between them, a causal relationship. The first fact is the result of the second, a result that is inescapable." 22

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Tsirintanis quotes as characteristic of this aspect of negation Feuerbach's phrase: "Der Mensch ist was er isst" (Man is what he eats).

²⁰ Towards a Christian Civilization, p. 27. See also the article, "The Negation which Is Leaving," Aktines, XI, June 1948, pp. 266-270.

²¹ P. Melitis, "The Negation which Is Leaving," p. 266.

²² P. Melites, "The Meaning of Our Age."

Thus, the Christian spiritual foundation of our civilization was torn out by the roots. But no spiritual foundation replaced it. "The civilization of modern man remained without a spiritual foundation for the first time in the history of man!" 23 Tsirintanis is clear here in pointing out that though he believes Christianity is the fullest and best expression of the truths of the spiritual aspect of existence, every other important civilization has had some sort of spiritual foundation. Thus it cannot be really said that they were fundamentally anti-Christian. . . . "Not only the civilization of ancient Greece, but also that of India and China, as well as that of the Arabs, and even that of the Negroes of Africa, primitive as it might be, was a civilization that was spiritual as much as it was able, without any conscious antithesis to the higher values. And we could, from one aspect, say that these civilizations (especially the ancient Greek civilization) were not only far from being antithetical to, but were actually closely related to Christianity. Only the modern man of the European civilization sought to base his life on a conscious rejection of these values." 24

The cause therefore, in the thought of Tsirintanis, for the miserable condition of our twentieth century, was the negation of the spiritual values enclosed and fostered by Christian religion. This new orientation which was taken up by the spiritual leadership of the twentieth century led directly to the road of destruction and disintegration.²⁵

* * *

Now let us see what Tsirintanis indicates as the conditions necessary for a change to occur in this negative orientation of our age. There are three basic presuppositions, which must be recognized. The first is that correction is possible. In spite of this pessimistic view of the present situation, he believes that a change can occur for the better.

²³ P. Melitis, "The Negation which Is Leaving," p. 266.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 267.

²⁵ In summing up, Tsirintanis has this illuminating paragraph which expresses his general position in specific terms. "In spite of the struggle and hatred that separate them in all other respects, the 'aristocrat,' the modernized duke, the peer who writes books against Christianity and the proletarian who is expecting to be freed by fighting Christianity, meet at once in negation. The hitlerist and the most fanatic antifascist are fellow-workers on that wagon on which the religious symbols have been tossed after having been removed from the schools. The Conservative, the man who admires ancient civilization, destroyed, as he thinks, by Christianity; the futurist and the surrealist who hate everything old; the follower of Nietzsche and the practical man who does not wish to hear of philosophy; the old man who lived in the tradition of the polite class and of the enlightenment, and the modern young lady or the unsuccessful woman-of-the-street; the 'enlightened' factory manager and the pro-

In this sense Tsirintanis is optimistic. There are two necessary conditions which must underlie any attempt at correction. The first is the realization that "the salvation of man cannot come with only material improvements. . . . The spiritual condition is not dependent on the material, but, conversely, the material condition (of society), on the greater part, is dependent on the spiritual." ²⁶ For when there is spiritual acme, he continues, then the bad economic and material conditions become bearable. But when there exists a state of spiritual degradation, then even with the most promising conditions for material progress man fails even in that aspect of life.

The second realization necessary is that "the salvation of man cannot be attained with only a change in the political or social system. The most perfect system... needs *people* to put it in practice. And when these people are spiritually bankrupt, they will carry away, sooner or later, even the most perfect system to destruction." ²⁷

Thus, two necessary presuppositions which must be taken into account if we wish to save our civilization from results induced by the negation of Christianity are that the spiritual factors are those which determine the events of civilized history, and that the bearer of these spiritual factors, the most important factor of the whole problem, is the personality of man.²⁸

In practice this means the need for men to return to a true Christian foundation for their life and for the life of civilization. It means the creation of a new Christian Civilization.

ATHENS, GREECE

fessional worker; the pacifist who maintains that Christianity is to blame for the wars that take place; and the chauvinist general who thinks that Christianity kills the war spirit that he needs to attain his chauvinistic aims: all these political, philosophical and scientific differences are bridged by negation. Modern man is ready to accept any compromise if it is contained in negation. There are differences between Voltaire and Diderot, Renan and Strauss, Schopenhauer and Nietzsche, Unamuno and Henri Barbusse, Buchner and Freud, materialism and anti-Christian ideologies. But these differences are of no importance to the modern unbeliever if negation of Christianity is founded on them. The negation is his status and." Towards a Christian Civilization, p. 34.

is his status quo." Towards a Christian Civilization, p. 34.

26 P. Melitis, "The Meaning of Our Age," pp. 261-262.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 262.

²⁸ Elsewhere he writes, "The human spiritual personality is that which guides men; it rules, with conscience as an organ, the whole life of man." *Declaration*, p. 77.



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EDITORIALS

BEYOND THE CROSS

In Bethlehem we came face to face with the power of God embodied in a powerless infant. It is here that we have seen the dawn of hope radiating gladness on the coming salvation. On Calvary this light was darkened. The power and love of God were rejected by our perverted and corrupted justice. The course, however, of the mysterious events that started in Bethlehem did not terminate on the hill of Calvary. There is another earthly spot that is destined to become the center where the sad events of the crucifixion were transformed into joyful revelations. The Empty Tomb became the scene of this transformation. It is from there that we learn that the supposedly condemned and crushed will of God was victorious: The hope born in Bethlehem was not fictitious and uncertain. The sacrifice of the Cross was accepted and the entombed life became immortal.

The miracle of the Resurrection has proved the goodness of God as an undefiable truth. Jesus was not held by death. Sin may have reached on Calvary the pinnacle of its strength against virtue: Virtue, however, was crowned with victory, and love was proved stronger than hate; and the tenderness of our Sorrowful Saviour overcame the crudeness of force and vice.

The enemies of our Lord had used force. Christ, however, adhered to meekness by which He won victories. Nietzsche, among many others, has denounced and ridiculed this virtue of Christ as fitting for slaves. Slave-mortality, however, has been recognized as healthier and stronger than the morality of domination, which today divides the world into two camps, that of the free with Christ present, and that of the enslaved with Christ exiled.

Having, however, in mind, the prevailing mode of the life and thought of today, one cannot help questioning the sincerity of the pro-Christ camp. Are we really for Christ? It is an unquestionable fact that not all in the slave-camp are away from Christ, nor are all in the free near Him. Examining the practical and theoretical aspects of the Christian World today, and judging from our literary products, we will discover without any difficulty whatsoever the quality of the trends in our outlook of life. For even among those who profess Christian Discipleship, there are some who are unable to see the reality of Christ. Though

twenty centuries have elapsed since the Resurrection, there are some who instead of proclaiming Christ as a Theandric personality, speak of Him in terms denoting confusion and error rather than faith. They discern in Christ only what is human and consequently they think of Him as equal to those thinkers and teachers of the past who, though heroic and great, were sinful and mortal.

The distinctive characteristic of Christ is that He is a Theandric person. When this is denied, nothing of significance can remain to prove the uniqueness of His mission and the values of His teachings. The ancient Church in Her wisdom and effort to protect the integrity of the Faith emphasized both the Divine and the Human natures of the One, Undivided and Whole Christ, and thus established Herself as an infallible guide for all who seek the reality of Christ and to understand the Orthodoxy of the Faith. When this guidance is rejected, the result is confusion. This is precisely what is happening in the hearts and minds of those who in their rationalistic outlook have placed stronger emphasis on the Humanity while speaking of the Divinity of Christ in terms indicating inconsistency and even infidelity.

It has been proved that when Divinity is either ignored or minimized, Christ is then lost in the crowd. In such a case how can one preach Christ as Saviour in whose oneness God and Man are unconfusedly unified and forever reconciled? How can one confess Christ with the enthusiasm and readiness that have led many to martyrdom?

To adhere to the Gospel of Christ and recognize it simply as beautiful and ideal, dreamlike and peaceable, does not make us Christians. Perhaps it does make us admirers of Christ, similar to those who admire Buddha and Socrates. The acceptance of the doctrines of Christ as true and saving needs the confirmation of Divinity. Without this seal we are at a loss, or as St. Paul says: Κενὸν τὸ κήρυγμα ἡμῶν.

For centuries, since the beginning of the Christian era, the supreme expression for such a confirmation has been seen in the Resurrection. This miracle of miracles brings to us the message that Christ is God and confirms His teachings as true. We will never experience the bountiful power and benevolence of the Christian Gospel unless we see the Resurrection of Christ as its unquestionable and convincing proof. In fact, because of the Resurrection, and not because of the instructions given to the scattered and fearful disciples, were they transformed into fearless preachers and conscientious Christians. These dauntless men with sincere enthusiasm, true piety, unshakeable courage, and strong convictions spread the Gospel of the Risen Christ, the true God and the true Man, and have led an unending line of Martyrs,

heroes, and faithful followers of our Divine Lord. In the march of these unusual thinkers and virtuous adherents of the Gospel, the powerful Roman Empire was shaken and on its ruins was erected the structure of Christian civilization, which we claim as ours.

But today our civilization, the product of the power of the Resurrection, is in danger, because we have lost Christ the Divine, thinking it sufficient to abide by Christ the Human: The result is that our Christian enthusiasm is gone. That the group of admirers has outnumbered the ranks of the faithful and the faith in the power of God tends to be overshadowed by the faith in the power of man which, regardless of many tragic results, seems to gain ground every day.

Our world, however, needs nothing more than that power which the Resurrection of Christ enkindled in the hearts and minds of the disappointed disciples. This is the power which will save the world and the ground where we may stand to rebuild our crumbling convictions and fill our empty theological theories. It has been said that Christ is Christianity and Christianity is Christ, and rightfully so. However, unless we recognize Christ beyond the Cross, not simply as a great prophet and mortal moralist, but as an immortal God-Man and Saviour, our Christianity will remain without Christ, and our theories will be vain, and our world will certainly be the playground where sin and failure are the dominating forces.

ORTHODOX WITNESS

Christian Orthodoxy stands for the fulness of the revealed religious truth, in which all the visions and prophecies of mankind are realized. All generations, in their conscious and unconscious expectations, have shown the desire for Truth. Christian Orthodoxy is the answer to such quests, because the essence of Orthodoxy is the complete revelation of God and the salvation of the fallen man.

We know from experience that truth always results in some form of opposition. Since Orthodoxy denotes the totality of religious truth, it has been impossible to avoid opposition in all its manifestations. Orthodoxy has coped with persecution, and at the same time with distortion and error. Persecution strengthened the Faith with the Blood of the Martyrs, while distortion and error produced, through necessity, confessors and teachers capable in their wisdom to expose heresy and defend truth. The blood of the Martyrs and the steadfastness of the Christian Teachers have time and again renewed the powers of Orthodoxy to endure all persecutions and intellectual attacks.



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rates the Birth of Christ; the third part (13-18) depicts the new life and sacred philosophy which the Divine Son of the Virgin initiated; and the fourth part (19-24) "refers to the Virgin Mother as the Mother of the Creator of the Universe, whom 'all hymns fall short to describe.'"

Numerous icons closely pertaining to the theme of the translation are included here. Above all else, Bishop Athenagoras succeeds in showing that the Hymn of the Hairetismoi is perhaps the most beautiful product of Christian poetry. Moreover, Orthodox hymnology, it is indicated, can truly serve as a rich source of melodic and spiritual eloquence — if only the Christian mind would make an effort to embrace the sacredness of such hymns and thoughts.

In the present state of intellectual stagnation and moral deterioration, a translation like this can help purify the hearts and minds of those who suffer from the secular and material evils of our time. Indeed, Bishop Athenagoras' translation will help to give abiding faith and courage to Orthodox adherents, as well as aiding those who at times drift with the misty winds of disillusionment.

GEORGE A. PANICHAS

RUTH KORPER, The Candlelight Kingdom: A Meeting with the Russian Church. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1955. Pp. 83.

Here is a most interesting little book with facts and details pertaining to the Eastern Orthodox Church in Russia, from A.D. 995—the year of its introduction to that land—to the present time. The author is a Protestant who, in 1952, made her first acquaintance with Eastern Orthodox Christianity at Oxford University, after attending a series of inspiring lectures at Keble College, which were delivered by Dr. Nicolas Zernoff. The stimulation and inspiraton realized in these illuminating spiritual experiences resulted in Ruth Korper's closer scrutiny and study of the Russian Church and faith. And this present book, thus, is the result of that genuine curiosity and effort.

In addition to her attendance at Russian Orthodox religious ceremonies, and expanded study of Orthodoxy in general, the author sought first-hand knowledge of the spiritual values of the faith and their effects upon the people as an uplifting and socializing force. After attending services of the Eastern Orthodox Church in Europe and America, Mrs. Korper was profoundly stirred, and she movingly describes these experiences when she writes: "Slowly my own thoughts were drawn, as by a spell, to the rhythm of the service revealed in the glow of the light beyond the steps leading to the altar. The sensation was curious, almost dreamlike. I had attended masses before and had waited, cold and excluded, for the miracle to happen, sensing restlessness around me, being certain that other persons, too, were preoccupied, and might also in their separate ways be missing identification with a faith that I, for my part, felt I was simply never meant to have. This was different."

Throughout the pages of this book, Mrs. Korper demonstrates a deep and thorough understanding not only of the religion of the Russian people, but of Western Christianity, as well. With understanding and logic, she appraises religious, historical, and political events, and shows that through all these centuries, from the time of Vladimir to the present period, the Orthodox faith was the main force which constantly unified the Russian people. In fact, even communism has not been able, with its atheistic and materialistic creed, to destroy or weaken the spiritual values and influences of Eastern Orthodoxy among Russian adherents.

Mrs. Korper has divided this work into three major parts, with ten closely-knit chapters, and an incisive foreword by Dr. Nicolas Zernoff, the lecturer who prompted the composition of this book. In addition to giving a vivid and eloquent description of the ritual in a Russian Orthodox church, and the religious emotions and sublime thoughts she felt during the ceremonies, Mrs. Korper, furthermore, makes some interesting observations that compare Eastern Orthodoxy, Protestantism, and Catholicism; and she finds that Orthodoxy "does not proselytize, has no advertising or propaganda program. She does not even seek by any of the well known means to attach interested inquirers to herself."

The doctrinal differences of Orthodoxy, Catholicism, and Protestantism, and the practices and ways of worship and administration of church affairs, are discussed. The writer feels that the Roman Church embodies severe discipline and law, while Protestantism urges independent reason and reform. The Eastern Church, on the other hand, is that part of Christianity which flowers in worship. In addition, Mrs. Korper gives a brief but concise history of the progress and role of Eastern Orthodoxy in Russia, especially stressing and evaluating its historical, political, and religious influences in that vast country. The relationship of the Church and the Russian Imperial Government, before the emergence of communism, and the manifold services of the Church to the backward Russian people as an educational agent, are carefully and objectively surveyed. Quoting Dr. Zernoff, Mrs. Korper writes:

"'The Church was for the Russian his university, his theatre, his picture gallery.'"

Other chapters deal with theological topics concerning the mystery of the Trinity, the seven holy sacraments of the Eastern Orthodox Church, and the feast of the Holy Easter, which is regarded as the greatest of all holidays of the year. Time and again she stresses the fact that regardless of the Tsarist evils and abuses of the last two centuries, and in spite of the Communist Revolution, the life of the Russian people has always been religiously-oriented and religiously-centered. Some space is also devoted to the perennial problem surrounding efforts and attempts, usually futile, to create a united Christian Church.

The Candlelight Kingdom is written with remarkable clarity and deep feeling, and is recommended reading to all students of religion, and especially to those of Eastern Orthodoxy, which is at present being given its rightful place and credit in the Christian world. The author, besides dealing with religious, political, historical, and social aspects, gives at the same time the very spirit and soul of the Eastern Orthodox Church in Russia. Indeed, this work is an excellent compendium and systematic arrangement of the history of Orthodoxy in that unhappy land; and in these crucial days of Orthodoxy in Russia, information, such as that given herein, can be most helpful. Though a small volume, it is fitting to say of this: Oim ἐν τῷ πολλῷ τὸ εὖ, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ εὖ τὸ πολύ.

JOHN E. GEORGE

CONSTANTINE CAVARNOS, Byzantine Sacred Music. Belmont, Mass. (113 Gilbert Road): Institute for Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, 1956. Pp. 31.

A significant, if not remarkable, trend in recent years has been the growing awareness of the importance and magnitude of Byzantine intellectual and religious thought through the efforts of devoted scholars who have uncovered a wealth of material in the often neglected areas of Eastern Christianity and philosophy. A keen interpreter and contributor in this field is Dr. Constantine Cavarnos, Professor of Philosophy at the Greek Orthodox Theological School.

In this brief treatise, Dr. Cavarnos clearly and interestingly discusses the essential characteristics, aims, and execution of Byzantine sacred music. It is certainly unfortunate, but not always surprising, that a great number of Orthodox faithful have little idea of the meaning and form of the traditional, official music of the Church; and it is



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ARCHIMANDRITE GERBASIOS PARASKEVOPOULOS, 'Επί-καιρα Προβλήματα (Contemporary Problems). Patras, 1956. Pp. 192.

This book offers a great service to the clergy of the Orthodox Church. After studying for many years the canonical aspects in the performance of the Sacraments, the author discovered laxities for which the clergy are responsible. Without hesitation and with genuine sincerity, the author recommends to Bishops and priests to adhere strictly to the Liturgical tradition of the Church and to respect the spirit and letter of the Holy Canons.

In the first part of this work, the author gives his observations relating to the performance of the Sacrament of Penance. His task is not exhausted with recommendations to the people; rather, he is interested in informing the clergy in reference to their duties as confessors and guardians of the traditions of the Church. The author offers practical information to the clergy and especially to confessor-priests, enlightening them, on the basis of the Holy Canons, in the approach to the confession of children, of the sick and dying, of those who are betrothed. He discusses the question of planned parenthood, of abortion, of premarital relations, and suggests to confessors ways of discovering criteria for proper penance and absolution.

Criticized are some of the innovations introduced in the Divine Liturgy and for which he considers responsible the celebrant priests. For example, some of the clergy add new prayers before the Epiklesis or before Communion, while others omit some of those that are recorded in the Liturgical books. Without doubt the author knows quite well the Holy Canons and the Liturgical traditions of the Church, and he is correct in recommending certain reforms. The author, a pious and zealous Orthodox priest, includes among his reforms the following: (1) "the return to the Fathers and to their Orthodoxy"; (2) elevation of Bishops worthy of their office; (3) full application of the Holy Canons in the life of the Church; (4) translation of Bishops to other Bishoprics be forbidden as the Holy Canons demand; (5) application of all measures required by the Holy Fathers and the Canons against divorced persons; (6) codification of all the Holy Canons of the Church so that they may be studied and applied in the life of the people.

These are certainly very reasonable reforms that Father Paraskevopoulos seeks. As for the importance of the Holy Canons and their application in the life of the Church, it is important to remember what St. Nicodemus the Athonite had said: "The Canons are the Testament, after the Old and New Testament, and they are the second after the first God-inspired words." Any open-minded reader cannot help but agree with the author of this book and above all with his recommendation to return to the Orthodoxy of the Fathers and work for the "canonical" solution of all the problems that beset the life of the Church.

BISHOP ATHENAGORAS

IOANNES N. FRANGOULAS, Τὰ Χριστιανικὰ Μνημεῖα τῆς νήσου Σκιάθου (The Christian Monuments of the Island of Skiathos). Thessaloniki, 1955. Pp. viii, 79, 31 illus. (Th.D. Dissertation.)

Mr. Frangoulas' book is divided into two parts. In the first part, he speaks about the "Secular Monuments of the Christian Period," and in the second part about the "Ecclesiastical Monuments" of Skiathos. Churches, monasteries, icons, manuscripts, vessels, and relics are examined by the author with the objectivity of the Church historian, the curiosity of the archeologist, and the affection of a native of Skiathos.

Both the archeologist and historian will find here some valuable material for the study of the Post-Byzantine age. The artist and art historian, too, will find much material concerning the tendencies of Byzantine art during the period of Turkish rule. Also, the Church historian will find data for the famous movement of "Collyvadon" in the eighteenth century, the influence of Papoulakos, the famous missionary of the Peloponnesus in the nineteenth century, on the religious life of Skiathos.

The book contains a number of interesting and helpful pictures, diagrams, and several transcriptions of manuscripts, including the personal letter of St. Nicodemus of Mt. Athos to the Abbot Nephon.

GEORGE S. BEBIS

ATHENA TARSOULI, Cyprus. Athens: Alfa Press, 1955. Pp. 590.

The struggle of the Greek Cypriotes for self-determination has prompted many to examine the history of Cyprus and evaluate the reasons which have led the Greek population of this island to fight for freedom. In this first volume of her work, Athena Tarsouli, a well-known Athenian literary figure, gives an admirable sketch of the history of Cyprus, surveying, in addition, the civic, cultural and religious aspects of this island. The main interest, however, of the author is



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ESCHATOLOGY IN THE PATRISTIC AGE: AN INTRODUCTION

By THE VERY REV. GEORGES FLOROVSKY

Four "last things" are traditionally listed: Death, Judgment, Heaven, and Hell. These four are "the last things of man." And there are four "last things" of the mankind: the Last Day, the Resurrection of the Flesh, the Final Judgment, and the End of the World. The major item, however, is missing in this listing, namely, "the Last Adam," Christ Himself, and His Body, the Church. For indeed Eschatology is not just one particular section of the Christian theological system, but rather its basis and foundation, its guiding and inspiring principle, or, as it were, the climate of the whole Christian thinking. Christianity is essentially eschatological, and the Church is an "eschatological community," since she is the New Testament, the ultimate and the final, and, consequently, "the last." Christ Himself is the Last Adam because He is "the New Man" (Ignatius, Ephes. 20.1). The Christian Perspective is intrinsically eschatological. "The Old has passed away. Behold, the New has come." It was precisely "in these last days" that God of the Fathers had ultimately acted, once for all, once forever. The "end" has come, God's design of human salvation has been consummated (John 19, 28. 30: τετέλεσται).

Yet, this ultimate action was just a new beginning. The greater things were yet to come. The "Last Adam" was coming again. "And let him who heareth say, Come." The Kingdom had been inaugurated, but it did not yet come, in its full power and glory. Or, rather, the Kingdom was still to come—yet, the King had come already. The Church was still in via, and Christians were still "pilgrims" and strangers in "this world." This tension between "the Past" and "the Coming" was essential for the Christian message from the very beginning. There were always these two basic terms of reference: the Gospel and the Second Advent. The story of Salvation was still in progress. But more than a "promise" had been granted unto the Church. Or, rather, "the Promise of the Father" was the Holy Spirit, which did come and

² See Kittel's Theologisches Woerterbuch, vol. III, 451, 452, s.v. καινός (Beth).

¹ See, e.g., Msgr. Joseph Pohle, Eschatology. Adapted and edited by Arthur Preuss. Herder Book Co., St. Louis, Mo., & London, 1947, p. 2.

was abiding in the Church forever. The kingdom of the Spirit had been already inaugurated. Thus the Church was living in two dimensions at once. St. Augustine describes this basic duality of the Christian situation in a remarkable passage of his Commentary on the Gospel of St. John, interpreting the 21st chapter. "There are two states of life that are known to the Church, preached and commended to herself from heaven, whereof one is of faith, the other of sight. One in the temporal sojourn in a foreign land, the other in the eternity of the (heavenly) abode. One - on the way, the other - in the fatherland. One — in active work, the other — in the wages of contemplation. . . . The one is anxious with the care of conquering, the other is secure in the peace of victory. . . . The whole of the one is passed here to the end of this world, and then finds its termination. The other is deferred for its completion till after the end of this world, but has no end in the world to come" (in Johan. tr. 124.5). Yet it is essentially the same Church that has this dual life, duas vitas. This duality is signified in the Gospel story by two names: Peter and John.

II

Christianity was recently described as an "experience of novelty," a Neuheitserlebniss. And this "novelty" was ultimate and absolute. It was the Mystery of the Incarnation. Incarnation was interpreted by the Fathers not as a metaphysical miracle, but primarily as the solution of an existential predicament, in which mankind was hopelessly imprisoned, i.e., as the Redemptive act of God. It was "for us men and for our salvation" that the Son of God came down, and was made man.³

³ The question whether this redemptive purpose was the only reason or motive of the Incarnation, so that it would not have taken place if man had not sinned, was never raised by the Fathers, with one single exception. The Christian message was from the very beginning the message of Salvation, and Christ was described precisely as the Savior or Redeemer of mankind and the world, who had redeemed His people from the bondage of sin and corruption. It was assumed that the very meaning of Salvation was that the intimate union between man and God had been restored, and it was inferred therefrom that the Redeemer Himself had to belong to both sides, i.e., had to be at once both Divine and human, for otherwise the broken communion would not have been recovered. This line of reasoning was taken by St. Irenaeus, later by St. Athanasius, and by all the writers of the 4th century, in their struggle against the Arians. Only in St. Maximus the Confessor, do we find suggestion that Incarnation belonged to the original plan of Creation and in this sense was independent upon the Fall: quaest. ad Thalassium, qu. 60, Migne, XC, c. 621; cf. Ambigua, XCI, 1097, 1305, 1308 sq. Cf. the remarks of Fr. Hans Urs von Balthasar, Liturgie Cosmique, Maxime le Confesseur, Paris Aubier, 1947, pp. 204-205 (German edition, s. 267-268). See also Aloysius Spindeler, Cur Verbum caro factum?

Redemption has been accomplished, once for all. The union, or "communion," with God has been re-established, and the power of becoming children of God has been granted to men, through faith. Christ Jesus is the only Mediator and Advocate, and His sacrifice on the Cross, in ara crucis, was "a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction." Human situation has been radically changed, and the status of man also. Man was re-adopted as the son of God in Christ Jesus, the Only Begotten Son of God Incarnate, crucified and risen. The catholic doctrine of the Incarnation, elaborated by the Fathers, from St. Irenaeus to St. John of Damascus, emphasizes first of all this aspect of finality and uniqueness, of accomplishment and achievement. The Son of God "was made man" forever. The Son of God, "One of the Holy Trinity," is man, by the virtue of the Incarnation, forever and ever. The Hypostatic Union is a permanent accomplishment. And the victory of the Cross is a final victory.

Again, the Resurrection of the Lord is the beginning of the general resurrection. But precisely for these reasons the "History of Salvation" should go and is going on. The doctrine of Christ finds its fulness and completion in the doctrine of the Church, i.e., of "the Whole Christ," - totus Christus, caput et corpus, to use the glorious phrase of St. Augustine. And this immediately introduces the historical duration. The Church is a growing body, till she comes to "mature manhood," εἰς ἄνδοα τέλειον. In the Church the Incarnate is unfailingly "present." It was precisely this awareness of His abiding presence that necessitated the orientation towards the future. It was in the Church, and through the Church, that God was still pursuing His redemptive purpose, through Jesus Christ, the Lord. Again, the Church was a missionary body, sent into the world to proclaim and to propagate the Kingdom, and the "whole creation" was expected to share or to participate in that ultimate "re-novation," which was already inaugurated by the Incarnate Lord, and in Him. History was theologically vindicated precisely by this missionary concern of the Church. On the other hand, history, i.e., the "History of Salvation," could not be regarded as an endless process. The "End of times" and the "Consummation" were faithfully anticipated. "The End" was clearly predicted in the Scriptures, as the Early Christians read them. The goal was indeed "beyond history," but

Das Motiv der Menschwerdung und das Verhaeltnis der Erloesung zur Menschwerdung Gottes in den christologischen Glaubenskaempfen des vierten und fuenften christlichen Jahrhunderts, Forschungen zur Christlichen Literatur—und Dogmengeschichte, herausgegeben von Ehrhard und Kirsch, XVIII. 2, 1938.

history was inwardly regulated and organized precisely by this superhistorical and transcendent goal, by a watchful expectation of the Coming Lord. Only an ultimate and final "con-summation," an ultimate and final re-integration or "re-capitulation" could have given meaning to the flux of happenings and events, to the duration of time itself.

The strong corporate feeling compelled the Early Christians to look for an ultimate and inclusive integration of the Redemptive process in the Kingdom to come. This was plainly stated already by Origen. Omne ergo corpus Ecclesiae redimendum sperat Apostolus, nec putat posse quae perfecta sunt dari singulis quibusdam membris, nisi universum corpus in unum fuerit congregatum (in Rom. VIII. 5). History goes on because the Body has not yet been completed. "The fulness of the Body" implies and presupposes a re-integration of history, including the Old dispensation, i.e., "the end." Or, in the phrase of St. John Chrysostom, "then is the Head filled up, then is the Body rendered perfect, when we are all together, all knit together and united" (in Ephes. hom III, ad I. 23). Erit unus Christus, amans seipsum (St. Augustine, in Ps. 26, sermo 2, n. 23). The other reason for looking forward, to a future consummation, was the firm and fervent belief in the Resurrection of the dead. In its own way it was to be a "re-integration" of history. Christ is risen indeed, and the sting of death has been taken away. The power of death was radically broken, and Life Eternal manifested and disclosed, in Christo. The "last enemy," however, is still active in the world, although death does not "reign" in the world any more. The victory of the Risen Christ is not yet fully disclosed. Only in the General Resurrection will Christ's redemptive triumph be fully actualized. Expectandum nobis etiam et corporis ver est (Minutius Felix, Octavius, 34).

This was the common conviction of the Patristic age, since Athenagoras and St. Irenaeus and up to St. John of Damascus. St. Athanasius was most emphatical on this point, and St. Gregory of Nyssa also. Christ had to die in order to abrogate death and corruption by His death. Indeed, death was that "last enemy" which He had to destroy in order to redeem man from corruption. This was one of the main arguments of St. Athanasius in his De Incarnatione. "In order to accept death He had a body" (De Incarn. 21). And St. Gregory of Nyssa says the same: "If one inquires into the mystery, he will say rather, not that death happened to Him as a consequence of birth, but that birth itself was assumed on the account of death" (orat. cat. 32). Or in the sharp phrase of Tertullian: Christus mori missus, nasci quoque necessario habuit, ut mori posset (de carne Christi, 6). The bodily Resurrection of man was one of the main aims of Redemption. The coming

and general Resurrection will not be just a "re-statement" to the previous condition. This would have been rather an "immortalization of the death," as St. Maximus sharply pointed out (Epist. 7). The coming Resurrection was conceived as a new and creative act of God, as an integral and comprehensive "re-novation" of the whole Creation. "Behold, I make all things new." In the phrase of St. Gregory of Nazianzus, it was to be the third and final "transformation" of human life (μετάστασις), completing and superseding the two previous, the Old and the New Testaments, a concluding eschatological σεισμός (Orat. Theol. V.25).

Ш

The new vision of human destiny, in the light of Christ, could not be accurately and adequately expressed in the terms of the current philosophies of that time. A new set of concepts had to be elaborated, before the Christian belief could be fully articulated and developed into a coherent system of theological propositions. The problem was not that of adjustment, but rather of a radical change of the basic habits of mind. Greek philosophy was dominated by the ideas of permanence and recurrence. In spite of the great variety of trends, a common pattern can be detected in all systems. This was a vision of an "eternal" Cosmos. Everything which was worth of existence had to have actually existed in the most perfect manner before all time, and nothing could be added to this accomplished fulness. No basic change was possible, and no real "novelty" could ever emerge. The whole, the Cosmos, was perfect and complete, and nothing could be perfected or completed. There could be but a disclosure of the pre-existing fulness. Aristotle made this point with complete frankness. "What is of necessity' coincides with what is 'always,' since that which 'must be' cannot possibly 'not-be.' Hence a thing is eternal if its 'being' is necessary; and if it is eternal, its 'being' is necessary. And if, therefore, the 'comingto-be' of a thing is necessary, its 'coming-to-be' is eternal; and if eternal, necessary. It follows that the 'coming-to-be' of anything, if it is absolutely necessary, must be cyclical, i.e., must return upon itself. . . . It is in circular movement therefore, and in cyclical 'coming-to-be,' that the 'absolutely necessary' is to be found" (de gen. et corr. II. 2, 338a). The argument is perfectly clear. If there is any "sufficient reason" for a certain thing to exist ("necessity"), this reason must be "eternal," i.e., there can be no reason whatever why this thing should not have existed "from eternity," since otherwise the reason for its existence could not have been "sufficient" or "necessary." And consequently "being" is simply "necessary."

No increase in "being" is conceivable. Nothing truly real can be "innovated." The true reality is always "behind" ("from eternity"), and never "ahead." Accordingly, the Cosmos is a periodical being, and there will be no end of cosmic "re-volutions." The highest symbol of reality is exactly the recurrent circle. The cosmic reality, of which man was but a part, was conceived as a permanent cyclical process, enacted, as it were, in an infinite series of self-reproducing installments, of self-reiterating circles. Only circle is perfect.⁴ Obviously, there was no room for any real "eschatology" in such a scheme. Greek Philosophy indeed was always concerned rather with the "first principles" than with the "last things." The whole conception was obviously based on astronomical experience. Indeed, the celestial movements were periodical and recurrent. The whole course of rotation would be accomplished in a certain period ("the Great Year"), and then will come a "repetition," a new and identical cycle or circle. There was no "pro-gress" in time, but only eternal returns, a "cyclophoria." 5 Time itself was in this scheme but a rotation, a periodical reiteration of itself. As Plato put it in the Timaeus, time "imitates" eternity, and rolls on according to the laws of numbers (38a, b), and in this sense it can be called "a mobile image of eternity" (37d). In itself, time is rather a lower or reduced mode of existence. This idea of the periodical succession of identical worlds seems to be traditional in the Greek Philosophy. The Pythagoreans seem to have been the first to profess an exact repetition. With Aristotle this periodical conception of the Universe took a strict scientific shape and was elaborated into a coherent system of Physics. Later on this idea of periodical returns was taken up by the Stoics. They professed the belief in the periodical dissolution and "rebirth" of all things, ή περιοδική παλιγγενεσία τῶν ὅλων (Marcus Aurelius), and then every minute detail will be exactly reproduced. This return was what the Stoics used to call the "Universal Restoration," ή ἀποκατάστασις τῶν

⁴ On the notion of the circular motion in Aristotle see O. Hamelin, Le Systeme 'Aristote, 2nd ed., Paris 1831, p. 336 ss.; J. Chevalier, La Notion du Nécessaire chez Aristote et chez ses prédecesseurs, particulièrement chez Platon, Paris 1915, p. 160 ss., 180 ss., R. Hugnier, La Théorie du Prêmier Moteur et l'Evolution de la Pensée Aristotelienne, Paris 1930, p. 24 ss.

⁵ See Pierre Duhem, Le Système du Monde, Histoire des Doctrines Cosmologiques de Platon à Copernic, t. I, Paris 1924, p.p. 65 ss., 275-296, and especially t. II, Jaris 1914, p.p. 447 ss., — Les Pères de l'Église et la Grande Année. — Cf. Hans Meyer, Zur Lehre von der Ewigen Wiederkunft aller Dinge, in "Festgabe A. Ehrhard," Bonn, 1922, s. 359 ff., and also: Mircea Eliade, Der Mythos der Ewigen Wiederkehr, Eugen Diederichs Verlag, Duesseldorf, 1953.

πάντων. And this was obviously an astronomical term.⁶ There was a kind of a cosmic *perpetuum* mobile, and all individual existences were hopelessly or inextricably involved in this cosmic rotation, in these cosmic rhythms and "astral courses" (this was precisely what the Greeks used to call "destiny" or fate, ἡ εἰμαρμένη, vis positionis astrorum).

The universe itself was always numerically the same, and its laws were immutable and invariable, and each next world therefore will exactly resemble the earlier ones in all particulars. There was no room for history in this scheme. "Cyclical motion and the transmigration of souls is not history. It was a history built on the pattern of astronomy, it was indeed itself a kind of astronomy." Already Origen protested most vigorously against this system of cosmic bondage. "If this be true, then the free will is destroyed" (contra Celsum, IV. 67 tc.; cf. V. 20-21). Oscar Cullmann, in his renowned book, Christus und die Zeit, has well depicted the radical divergence between the "circular" concept of time in the Greek thought and the "linear" concept in the Bible and in the Christian doctrine. The ancient Fathers were fully aware of this divergence. Circuitus illi jam explosi sunt, exclaims St. Augustine. Let us follow Christ, "the right way," and turn our mind away from the vain circular maze of the impious. - Viam rectam sequentes quae nobis est Christus. Eo duce et salvatore, a vano et inepto impiorum circuitu iter sidei mentemque avertamus (de Civ. Dei, XII. 20). Now, this circular conception of the Universe, as "a periodical being," was closely connected with the initial conviction of the Greeks that the Universe, the Cosmos, was "eternal," i.e., had no beginning, and therefore was also "immortal," i.e., could have no end. The Cosmos itself was, in this sense, "Divine." Therefore, the radical refutation of the cyclical conception was possible only in the context of a coherent doctrine of Creation. Christian Eschatology does inextricably depend upon an adequate doctrine of Creation. And it was at this point that the Christian thought encountered major difficulties.8

⁸ Cf. my article, "The Idea of Creation in Christian Philosophy," in the Eastern Churches Quarterly, vol. VIII, 1949, 3 Supplementary issue, "Nature and Grace."

⁶ See Kittel's Theologisches Woerterbuch, I, 389, sv. ἀποκατάστασις (Oepke): vor allem wird a. terminus technicus fuer die Wiederherstellung des kosmischen Zyklus.

⁷ A. Losev, Essays in Ancient Symbolism and Mythology, t. I, Moscow 1930 (in Russian), 643. This book is one of the most valuable contributions to the modern discussion of Platonism, including the Christian Platonism. The book is utterly rare: passed by the official censorship in the Soviet Union, it was soon after taken out of circulation and probably destroyed, apparently under the pressure from the anti-religious quarters; the author was apparently deported. The book, and other valuable writings of Losev in the same field, is obtainable in Fritz Lieb's Library, at the University of Basel.

Origen was probably the first to attempt a systematic formulation of the doctrine of Creation. But he was, from the outset, strongly handicapped by the "hellenistic" habits of his mind. Belief in Creation was for him an integral article of the Apostolic faith. But from the absolute "perfection" of God he felt himself compelled to deduce the "eternity" of the world. Otherwise, he thought, it would be necessary to admit some changes in God Himself. In Origen's conception, the Cosmos is a kind of an eternal companion of God. The Aristotelian character of his reasoning at this point is obvious. Next, Origen had to admit "cycles" and a sort of rotation, although he plainly rejected the iterative character of the successive "cycles." There was an unresolved inconsistency in his system. The "eternity" of the world implied an infinite number of "cycles" in the past, but Origen was firmly convinced that this series of "cycles" was to come to an end, and therefore there had to be but a finite number of "cycles" in the future. Now, this is plainly inconsistent. On the other hand, Origen was compelled to interpret the final "con-summation" as a "re-turn" to the initial situation, "before all times." In any case, history was for him, as it were, unproductive, and all that might be "added" to the preexistent reality had to be simply omitted in the ultimate summing up, as an accidental alloy or vain accretion. The fulness of Creation had been realized by the creative fiat "in eternity" once for all. The process of history could have for him but a "symbolic" meaning. It was more or less transparent for these eternal values. All links in the chain could be interpreted as signs of a higher reality. Ultimately, all such signs and symbols will pass away, although it was difficult to see why the infinite series of "cycles" should ever end. Nevertheless, all signs have their own function in history. Events, as temporal happenings, have no permanent significance. The only valid interpretation of them is "symbolical." This basic assumption led Origen into insuperable difficulties in Christology. Could the Incarnation itself be regarded as a permanent achievement, or rather it was no more than an "episode" in history, to be surpassed in "eternity"? Moreover, "manhood" itself, as a particular mode of existence, was to be interpreted precisely as an "episode," like all differentiation of the beings. It did not belong to the original plan of Creation and originated in the general disintegration of the Fall. Therefore, it was bound to disappear, when the whole of Creation is restored on its initial integrity, when the primordial world of pure spirits is re-stated in its original splendour. History simply has nothing to contribute to this ultimate "apocatastasis."

Now, it is easy to dismiss this kind of Eschatology as an obvious case of the "acute Hellenization." The true historical situation, however, was much more complex. Origen was wrestling with a real prob-

lem. His "aberrations" were in fact the birth-pangs of the Christian mind. His own system was an abortive birth. Or, to change the metaphor, his failures themselves were to become sign-posts on the road to a more satisfactory synthesis. It was in the struggle with Arianism that the Fathers were compelled to elaborate a clear conception of "Creation," as distinguished from other forms of "becoming" and "being." The contribution of St. Athanasius was decisive at this point. St. Augustine, from another point of view, was wrestling with the same problem, and his discovery that Time itself had to be regarded as a creature was one of the most relevant achievements of the Christian thought. This discovery liberated this thought from the heavy heritage of the Hellenistic habits. And a safe foundation was laid for the Christian theology of History.

IV

No comprehensive integration of human existence is possible without the Resurrection of the dead. The unity of mankind can be achieved only if the dead rise. This was perhaps the most striking novelty in the original Christian message. The preaching of the Resurrection as well as the preaching of the Cross was foolishness and a stumbling-block to the Gentiles. The Christian belief in a coming Resurrection could only confuse and embarrass the Greeks. It would mean for them simply that the present imprisonment in the flesh will be renewed again and forever. The expectation of a bodily resurrection would befit rather an earthworm, suggested Celsus, and he jeered in the name of common sense. He called Christians "a flesh-loving crew," φιλοσώματον γένος, and treated the Docetists with far greater sympathy and understanding (apud Origen, contra Celsum, V. 14, VII. 36, 39). Porphyrius, in his Life of Plotinus, tells that Plotinus, it seemed, "was ashamed to be in the flesh," and with this statement he begins his biography. "And in such a frame of mind he refused to speak either of his ancestors of parents, or of his fatherland. He would not sit for a sculptor or painter. It was absurd to make a permanent image of this perishable frame. It was already enough that we should bear it now" (Life of Plotinus, I). This philosophical asceticism of Plotinus should be distinguished from Oriental dualism, Gnostic or Manichean. Plotinus himself wrote very strongly "against Gnostics." Yet, it was rather a difference of motives and methods. The practical issue in both cases was one and the same, - a "flight" or "retreat" from this corporeal world, an "escape" from the body. Plotinus himself suggested the following simile. Two men live in the same house. One of them blames the builder and his handiwork, because it is made of inanimate wood and stone. The other praises the wisdom of the architect, because the building is so skillfully constructed. For Plotinus this world was not evil, it was the "image" or reflection of the world above, and probably the best of images. Still, one had to aspire beyond all images, from the image to the prototype. One should cherish not the copy, but the pattern (V. 8, 8). "He knows that when the time comes, he will go out and will no longer have any need of a house." It is to say that the soul was to be liberated from the ties of the body, to be disrobed, and then only it could ascend to its proper sphere (II. 9.15). "The true awakening is the true resurrection from the body, and not with the body," ἀπὸ σώματος, οὐ μετὰ σώματος, — since the body is by nature opposite to the soul (τὸ ἀλλότρων). A bodily resurrection would be just a passage from one "sleep" to another (III. 6.6). The polemical turn of these phrases is obvious. The concept of the bodily resurrection was quite alien and unwelcome to the Greek mind.

The Christian attitude was just the opposite. "Not for that we would be unclothed, but that we would be clothed, that what is mortal may be swallowed up by life" (2 Cor. 5.4). St. Paul was pleading for an ἀπολύτρωσις τοῦ σώματος (Rom. 8.23). As St. John Chrysostom commented on these passages, one should clearly distinguish the body itself and "corruption." The body is God's creation, although it had been corrupted. The "strange thing" which must be put off is not the body, but corruption (de resurr. mortuor. 6). There was a flagrant "conflict in anthropology" between the Christian message and the Greek wisdom. A new anthropology had to be elaborated in order to commend the Christian hope of Resurrection to the Gentiles. In the last resort it was Aristotle and not Plato who could offer help to Christian philosophers. In the philosophical interpretation of its eschatological hope, Christian theology from the very beginning clings to Aristotle.¹¹ Such a biased preference may appear to be unexpected and strange. For, strictly speaking, in Aristotle there was no room for any "afterdeath" destiny of man. In his interpretation man was entirely an earthly being. Nothing really human passes beyond the grave. Man is mortal through and through. His singular being is not a person and

⁹ Ralph Cudworth, The True Intellectual System of the Universe, II, 1059, quotes a Plotinian phrase which cannot be found in the Enneades: Christian resurrection is just an ἀνάστασις εἰς ἄλλον ὕπνον.

¹⁰ See Buechsel, s.v. ἀπολύτρωσις, in Kittel, IV, 355.

¹¹ Cf. the most interesting remarks of E. Gilson in his Gifford lectures: L'Esprit de la philosophie Médiévale, 2nd edition, Paris 1944, the whole chapter IX, "L'anthropologie chrétienne," p. 175 ss. Gilson seems to have underestimated the Aristotelian elements in the Early Patristics, but he gives an excellent mis au point of the whole problem.

does not survive death. But yet in this weakness of Aristotle was his strength. He had a real understanding of the unity of human existence. Man was to him, first of all, an individual being, a living unit. Man was one just in his duality, as an "animated body," and two elements in him exist only together, in a concrete and indivisible correlation. Soul and body for Aristotle are not even two elements, which are combined or connected with each other, but rather simply two aspects of the same concrete reality. "Soul and body together constitute the animal. Now it needs no proof that the soul cannot be separated from the body" (de anima, 413a). Once the functional unity of the soul and body has been broken by the death, no "organism" is there any more, the corpse is no more a body, and a dead man can hardly be called man at all (meteor. IV. 12, 389b: νεκρὸς ἄνθρωπος ὁμώνυμος; cf. de part. anim. 641a). No "transmigration" of souls to other bodies was possible for Aristotle. Each soul abides in its "own" body, which it creates and forms, and each body has its "own" soul, as its vital principle, "eidos" or form.

This anthropology easily lends itself to a biological simplification, when man is almost completely equated with any other living being. Such indeed was the interpretation of many followers of the Stagirite, including the famous Alexander of Aphrodisias. Aristotle himself has hardly escaped these inherent dangers of his conception. Of course, man was for him an "intelligent being," and the faculty of thinking was his distinctive mark. But the doctrine does not fit very well into the general frame of the Aristotelian psychology, and probably is a survival of his early Platonism. It was possible to adapt the Aristotelian conception for Christian purposes, and this was just what was done by the Fathers, but Aristotle himself obviously "was not a Moslem mystic, nor a Christian theologian." 12 The real failure of Aristotle was not in his "naturalism," but in that he could not admit any permanence of the individual. But this was rather a common failure of the Greek Philosophy. Beyond time Greek thought visualized only the "typical," and nothing truly personal. Hegel suggested, in his Aesthetics, that

¹² R. D. Hicks, in the Introduction to his edition of de anima, Cambridge, at the University Press, 1934, p. LVI. Cf. Anton C. Pegis, Saint Thomas and the Greeks, The Aquinas Lecture, 1939, 3rd printing, Marquette University Press, Milwaukee, 1951, p. 17 ff. Already E. Rohde, Psyche, Seelencult und Unsterblichkeitsglaube der Griechen, 3 Aufl. 1903, Bd. II, s. 305, suggested that the whole doctrine of Nous was simply a survival of Aristotle's early Platonism. This idea was recently upheld by Werner Jaeger, Aristotle, Fundamentals of the History of his Development, E. translation by Richard Robinson, 2nd edition, Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1948, p. 332 f.

Sculpture gives the true key to the whole of Greek mentality.¹³ Recently, a Russian scholar, A. Losev, pointed out that the whole of Greek Philosophy was just "a sculptural symbolism." He was thinking especially of Platonism, but his suggestion has a wider relevance. "Against a dark background, as a result of an interplay of light and shadow, there stands out a blind, colourless, cold, marble and divinely beautiful, proud and majestic body, a statue. And the world is such a statue, and gods are statues; the city-state also, and the heroes, and the myths, and ideas, all conceal underneath them this original sculptural intuition. . . . There is no personality, no eyes, no spiritual individuality. There is a 'something,' but not a 'someone,' an individualized 'it,' but no living person with his proper name. . . . There is no one at all. There are bodies, and there are ideas. The spiritual character of the ideas is killed by the body, but the warmth of the body is restrained by the abstract idea. There are here beautiful, but cold and blissfully indifferent statues." 14 And yet Aristotle did feel and understand the individual more than anyone else in his tradition. He provided Christian philosophers with all the elements out of which an adequate conception of personality could be built up. His strength was just in his understanding of the empirical wholeness of human existence.

Aristotle's conception was radically transformed in this Christian adaptation, for new perspectives were opened, and all the terms were given a new significance. And yet one cannot fail to acknowledge the Aristotelian origin of the main anthropological ideas in early Christian theology. Such a christening of Aristotelianism we find already in Origen, to a certain extent in St. Methodius of Olympus as well, and later in St. Gregory of Nyssa, who in his thrilling De Anima et Resurrectione attempted a daring synthesis of Origen and Methodius. The break between the "Intellect," impersonal and "eternal," and the soul, individual but mortal, was overcome and healed in the new selfconsciousness of a spiritual personality. The idea of personality itself was probably the greatest Christian contribution to philosophy. And then the tragedy of death could be visualized in its true dimension. For Plato and Platonists, death was just a welcome release out of the bodily bondage, "a flight to fatherland." For Aristotle and his followers, it was a natural end of earthly existence, a sad but inevitable end, "and nothing is thought to be any longer either good or bad for the

¹³ Hegel, Vorlesungen ueber die Aesthetik, Saemtliche Werke, Bd. X. 2, s. 377; cf. the whole section on Sculpture, which was for Hegel a peculiarly "classical art," s. 353 f.

¹⁴ Losev, Essays in Ancient Symbolism and Mythology, I, 670, 632, 633 — in Russian,

dead" (ethic. Nicom. III. 6, 1115a). For Christians is was a catastrophe, a frustration of human existence, a reduction to a sub-human state, abnormal and rooted in the sinful condition of the mankind, out of which one is now liberated by the victory of Christ. The task of Christian theologians was now to relate the hope of Resurrection to the new conception of man. It is interesting to observe that the problem was clearly seen and stated in the first theological essay on the Resurrection which we possess. In his brief treatise De resurrectione mortuorum, Athenagoras of Athens begins with the plain statement that "God gave independent being and life neither to the nature of the soul itself, nor to the nature of the body separately, but rather to men, composed of soul and body." There would no longer be a man, if the completeness of this structure were broken, for then the identity of the individual would be broken also. "And if there is no resurrection, human nature is no longer human" (De Resurr. Mort. 13, 15). Aristotle concluded from the mortality of the body to the mortality of the soul, which was but the vital power of the body. Both go down together. Athenagoras, on the contrary, infers the resurrection of the body from the immortality of the reasonable soul. Both are kept together. 15 Thus, a safe foundation was laid for the further elaboration.

The purpose of this brief paper is not to give a complete summary of the eschatological thought and teaching of the Fathers. It is rather an attempt to emphasize the main themes and the main problems with which the Fathers had to wrestle. Again, it is also an attempt to show how deeply and closely all eschatological topics are related to the core of the Christian message and faith, to the Redemption of man by the

¹⁵ On the Aristotelian background of Athenagoras' conception see Max Pohlenz, in Zeitschrift fuer die Wissenschaftliche Theologie, Bd. 47, s. 241 ff.; cf. E. Schwarz, index graecus to his edition of Athenagoras, in Texte und Untersuchungen IV. 2, 1891, s.v. είδος, s. 105. Cf. E. Gilson, L'Esprit de la Philosophie Médiévale, p. 197. Lorsqu'on pèse les expressions d'Athénagoras, la profondeur de l'influence exercée par la Bonne Nouvelle sur la pensée philosophique apparait à plein. Créé par Dieu comme une individualité distincte, conserve par un acte de création continuée dans l'être qu'il reçu de lui, l'homme est désormais le personnage d'un drame qui est celui de sa propre destinée. Comme il ne dépendait pas de nous d'exister, il ne dépend pas de nous de ne pas exister. Le décret divin nous a condamné à l'être; faits par la création, refaits par la rédemption, et à quel prix, nous n'avons le choix qu'entre une misère ou une béatitude également éternelles. Rien de plus résistant qu'une individualité de ce genre, prévue, voulue, élue par Dieu, indestructible comme le décret divin lui-même qui l'a fait maître; mais rien aussi qui soit plus étranger à la philosophie de Platon comme à celle d'Aristote. Là encore, à partir du moment où elle visait une pleine justification rationelle de son espérance, la pensée chrétienne se trouvait contrainte à l'originalité.

Incarnate and Risen Lord. Only in this wider perspective, in the total context of Christian doctrine, one can fully and faithfully understand even the variations of the Patristic thought. The eschatological hope is rooted in the faith, and cannot be understood except in this context. The Fathers never attempted a systematic exposition of Eschatology, in a narrow and technical sense. But they were fully aware of that inner logic which had to lead from the belief in Christ the Redeemer to the hope for the age to come: the end of the world, the final consummation, the judgment, the resurrection of the dead, and life everlasting.

HOLY CROSS
GREEK ORTHODOX THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL



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THE GREEK SPIRIT AND THE MYSTICISM OF HENRY MORE

By GEORGE A. PANICHAS

The seventeenth century was an eventful period of change; it saw the impact of modernism upon medievalism; it embodied strong and insistent demands for scientific explanation; it was an age in which divine mystery was questioned by those seeking "release from traditional hauntings; in short, there was taking place ageneral transference of interest from metaphysics to physics, from the contemplation of Being to the observation of Becoming. Yet, in the face of these new yearnings and demands, there was in England a significant school of thought—the Cambridge Platonists—that was striving to formulate a philosophy of religion and to stress the divine inspiration of human reason. Though neglected and even ignored by critics and scholars, the Cambridge School, including Benjamin Whichcote (1609-83), Henry More (1614-87), John Smith (1616?-52), Ralph Cudworth (1617-88), Nathaniel Culverwel (1618/19-51?), John Worthington (1618-71),

¹ Douglas Bush, English Literature in the Earlier Seventeenth Century (Oxford, England: Clarendon Press, 1945), p. 1.

² Basil Willey, The Seventeenth Century Background (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1955 [1934]), p. 15.

³ Willey, p. 16.

⁴ Anglicanism, edd. Paul Elmer More and Frank Leslie Cross (Milwaukee: Morehouse Publishing Company, 1935), p. lvi.

⁵ James A. Notopoulos in his work, *The Platonism of Shelley* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1949), pp. 115-118, points out that the literature which attracted Shelley to the idea of the divine immortality of the soul was influenced by Cudworth's Platonism. Professor Notopoulos quotes as an example lines 370, 379-385, from Shelley's *Adonass*:

[&]quot;He is made one with Nature: . . .

He is a portion of the loveliness
Which once he made more lovely: he doth bear
His part, while the one Spirit's plastic stress
Sweeps through the dull dense world, compelling there,
All new successions to the forms they wear;
Torturing th' unwilling dross that checks its flight
To its own likeness, as each mass may bear"

and George Rust (c. 1626?-70), sought to show the existence of order in the individual soul, in society, in the cosmos, to prove the existence of spiritual being, and to strengthen the belief that there is an incorporeal world, and that incorporeal substances transcend and embrace earthly phenomena.6 In the process of accomplishing such a goal, "it was the peculiar service of the Cambridge Platonists to ignore the Roman theology, which through Augustine and Calvin dominated in the western church, and to revive the spirit of Greek interpretation." In the revival of the Greek spirit, especially as found in the thought of Plato and in the neoplatonic thought of Plotinus, the Cambridge Platonists did not explain mysteries in the mechanico-materialistic sense, but rather sought a mystical communion with the Mind of God. Plato's words, "Wherefore, also, we ought to fly away thither, and to fly thither is to become like God, as far as this is possible; and to become like him, is to become holy and wise," 8 definitively characterize the spiritual and intellectual aspirations of the English Platonists. For they were mainly concerned in attaining a holy life, and in being dead to the flesh and vanities of living; and above all, they desired a religious experience that had as its main aim divine ecstasy (ἄσκησις) made possible through a separation from the body (χωρισμός ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος).

In addition to the revival of the Greek spirit of interpretation, Cambridge Platonism represents the quintessence of religious mysticism in the seventeenth century. Despite the fact that the Cambridge Platonists lived in a period of narrowness and bigotry, a period that was characterized by the conflict of religious ceremonialism and dogmatism, extreme and militant Anglicanism contending with extreme and rampant Puritanism, they sought to climb the spiritual ladder from earth to heaven, seeking rather the purgative, illuminative, and unitive states of divine being, than worldy possession, power, and prestige. It may well be said that the conversation of the Cambridge Platonists was of a divine quality: and like old sages they gave themselves up to the sublimest speculations and the most gracious affections. Through prayer and meditation,

⁶ See also Bush, p. 35.

⁷ Edward A. George, Seventeenth Century Men of Latitude (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908), p. 197.

 $^{^8}$ Theaetetus 176 B: διὸ καὶ πειφάσθαι ἐνθένδε ἐκεῖσε φεύγειν ὅ,τι τάχιστα. φυγὴ δὲ ὁμοίωσις θεῷ κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν· ὁμοίωσις δὲ δίκαιον καὶ ὅσιον μετὰ φρονήσεως γενέσθαι.

⁹ In his essay, "Anglicanism in the Seventeenth Century," included in the More and Cross volume, Felix R. Arnott writes, p. xlvii: "If the Civil War occupies the chief field of interest to students of English political history in the Seventeenth Century, the struggle between Anglicanism and Puritanism fills the corresponding place for the Church historian."

they sought to transform themselves into the likeness of Him in whose image they were created. Theirs was a true mysticism, ¹⁰ which can be defined as "a temper rather than a doctrine, an atmosphere rather than a system of philosophy;" ¹¹ as "the attempt to realise the presence of the living God in the soul and in nature, or, more generally, as the attempt to realise, in thought and feeling, the immanence of the temporal in the eternal, and of the eternal in the temporal." ¹²

In his poignant essay Arnott concludes: "It was the religious aspirations of the Seventeenth-Century divines which made the Via Media become a glorious reality instead of a barren philosophical theory. They desired to gather up all that was best in the Church's past, and to adapt it for English use . . . "13 Without doubt, the task of the Cambridge mystics was a difficult one since they found themselves in the midst of strife and stirrings of two sorts: there was first of all, as has been pointed out, the growing attachment to the scientific and mechanistic interpretation of phenomena, giving rise thus to materialism and atheism; and secondly, there was the bitter struggle that was going on between the Anglicans and Puritans. On the one hand, the Anglicans sought to gather churchmen together on the basis of ritual, ceremonial observances, and Episcopal church government. The Puritans, on the other hand, maintained that the essentials of Christianity were to be found in the Scriptures and in Presbyterian form of church government. The Church thus lacked decisiveness and became involved in theological battles relating to dogma and church administration. Angry voices often became shrill and defiant, however, and wordy debates turned into riotous action, as Puritans, who certainly made no boast of passiveness, refused to kneel at communion, challenged the interpretation of the Lord's Supper, openly opposed theological decrees, and tore down painted windows in churches and college chapels. The Cambridge Platonists, however, realized the theological paradox of the Anglican insisting upon liberty of belief, without allowing liberty of worship, and the Puritan insisting upon liberty of worship, without allowing liberty of belief.14

¹⁰ The word "mysticism" was taken by the Neoplatonists from the ancient Greek mysteries. Mύστης was a name given to the initiate, since he was one who was securing a knowledge of divine phenomena about which he must keep his mouth shut — μ ύ ω , meaning to close the lips or eyes; thus can be seen the association of secrecy or mystery.

¹¹ Caroline F. E. Spurgeon, Mysticism in English Literature (Cambridge, England: University Press, 1913), p. 2.

¹² William R. Inge, *Christian Mysticism* (7th ed.; New York: Meriden Books, 1956), p. 5. Italics are the author's.

¹⁸ More and Cross, p. lxxii.

¹⁴ George, p. 196.

In addition this was also a period when the flood of "enthusiasm" swept England and parts of the continent, as if in reaction against the strict theological structure of creeds and dogmas. The consequent rise of Familists, Anti-Scripturists, Antinomians, Anti-Trinitarians, Arians, Anabaptists, and Quakers caused dismay, and the new religious groups were looked upon as the defenders of "abominable errors, damnable heresies, and horrid blasphemies, to be lamented if it were possible with tears of blood." 15 To be sure, both the social-political and religious situations were not helped at all by the eruption of other difficulties such as the Petition of Right in 1628, the infamous Star Chamber sentences, the Civil War of 1642, the execution of Archbishop Laud in 1645, the rule of Cromwell, 1653-1658, and the growing rivalry between England, France, and Spain, nations continually seeking empire and colonization. The Cambridge Platonists sought, in the face of these bitter controversies and increasing dangers, to remove religion from the external world and make it an internal working force. From the contemplative peace of their study at Cambridge University, the Latitude-men, or Latitudinarians, 16 so called because of their emphasis on theological tolerance and broad-mindedness, labored to reconcile opposing schools of religious thought. Theirs was a message of spiritual peace and joy enunciated at a time when man's religious attitudes were in need of an agonizing re-appraisal.

The Cambridge Platonists, motivated by Ralph Cudworth's famous sermon in which he stated that "The spirit of man is the candle of the Lord, lighted by God, and lighting man to God," ¹⁷ preached that God was to be sought and found through the faculties that man possessed rather than through a simple acceptance of external religious ceremony. For the Cambridge Platonists, so strongly influenced by the Greek spirit, religion was a living force in the human soul, an inward peace and an outward expression of love (φιλότης), an emotional experience based upon vision of the eternal and immutable. They believed that human ideas were the copies of divine ideas and that human knowledge was produced by an active exertion of the human mind and not through the passive reception of sense data. The intellectual love of God, the amor dei intellectualis, was an important part of the theosophy and mysticism of the Cambridge school; yet they stressed that religious knowledge

¹⁵ Quoted in John Tulloch, Rational Theology and Christian Philosophy in the Seventeenth Century (London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1874), II, 10.

¹⁶ Marjorie Nicolson, "Christ's College and the Latitude Men," *Modern Philology*, XXVII (August, 1929), 46.

¹⁷ Quoted in Tulloch, II, 99. "The spirit in man is the candle of the Lord..." comes from Proverbs 20:27.

could not be derived from the power of thinking alone, without the fundamental disposition of the will. Without doubt they could have assented to Pascal's famous definition of faith. voilà ce que c'est que la foi: Dieu sensible au coeur non à la raison: For faith to them was felt in the heart ("order of the heart"), not in the head ("order of understanding"). In short, the Cambridge Platonists opposed logical as well as theological dogmatics; they did not see any difference between natural and intelligible being, that is, between the rational and the spiritual, since for them the spiritual was the highest form of the rational.

Rejoicing in the thought and experience of drvine immanence, which brought the transcendent God of Augustinianism near as Immanuel, or God with us, the Cambridge Platonists as religious moralists recognized no separation between God and Man and helped to rescue from oblivion the ethical mysticism of Paul and his blessed experience of vital union with Christ. The Platonists thus form "a sort of connecting link between minds and epochs" since "they preserved a nucleus of genuine ancient philosophical tradition, and passed it on uncontaminated to the centuries to come." In their emphasis on the metaphysics of Plato, the English Platonists and philosophers found an ally to oppose Hobbesian materialism and empiricism, while as moralists they found in him authority for their central thesis, that conduct mattered more than creed. Stressing values, the Platonists proved the existence of God through ontological and cosmological proofs, especially brought out in the poetry of Henry More:

"But true Religion sprong from God above
Is like her fountain full of charity,
Embracing all things with a tender love,
Full of good will and meek expectancy,
Full of true justice and sure verity,
In heart and voice; free, large, even infinite,
Not wedg'd in strait particularity,
But grasping all in her vast active spright,
Bright lamp of God! that men would joy in thy pure light!" ²¹

In many respects, the Cambridge Platonists were transitional in their philosophical and religious thought, since they stood at a point marking

¹⁸ Ernest Cassirer, The Platonic Renaissance in England, trans. James P. Pettegrove (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1953), p. 8.

¹⁹ Cassirer, p. 202.

Willey, p. 141.
 Psychathanasia, Book II, Canto III, stanza 6. The old spelling used by More will be followed to the letter throughout this study.

the end of the domination of the scholastic system of learning and the beginning of modern thought. During this period, the English Platonists opposed the sophistic system of learning, the overemphasis on logic, the seeking after knowledge for the sake of power and excitement — the Hobbesian scientia propter potentiam. More, who in many ways embodied the culmination of the thought of the English Platonists, spoke of "the ridiculous folly of this present Sophism." 22 Other voices, too, joined the chorus decrying the dangers and menace of sophism: Francis Bacon attacked this as "contentious learning," and John Milton spoke of it as "an asinine feast of sow-thistles and brambles." 28 To the English Platonists, to be sure, knowledge of things was not the supreme felicity of man, a fact which was especially underscored in the life of More. To these men, these mystics and divines, the highest knowledge was won not merely, or mainly, by the study of things, but by the purgation of the mind from all sorts of vices and evil. Piety (εὐσέβεια), reverence for the mysterious (δεινόν), and sincere modesty (σωφροσύνη) were first necessary before the illumination of the truth. More expresses this in his poem "Charity and Humility," when he concludes:

"Lord, thrust me deeper into dust,
That thou maist raise me with the just." 24

Principal Tulloch speaks of Henry More not only as the most vital and interesting of all the Cambridge School, but also as "the most Platonical of the Platonic sect, and at the same time the most genial, natural, and perfect man of them all." ²⁵ In fact the protégé and biographer of More, Richard Ward, refers to him as a "shining light," a "Celestial Herald," a sort of Christian Elias, sent into the world to promote truths, whether in philosophy or theology. ²⁶ Although Ward is somewhat carried away in his admiration of More, there is no doubt that the latter's rapturous mysticism and profound piety distinguish him from the other English Platonists. Born at Grantham, Lincolnshire, October 12, 1614, he came of a good Calvinist family. From childhood he was a thoughtful and remarkably proficient student both at Eton and Cambridge, from which he graduated M.A. in 1639. While yet a student at Eton, he boldly disputed fate and Calvinistic predestination: "But neither there,

²² A Collection of Several Philosophical Writings of Henry More (4th ed.; London: printed by James Flesher, for William Morden, Bookseller in Cambridge, 1712), p. 97.

Quoted in Tulloch, II, 17.
 Henry More, Philosophical Poems (Cambridge: Roger Daniel, 1647), p.

²⁵ Tulloch, II, 303.

²⁶ Richard Ward, The Life of the Learned and Pious Dr. Henry More (London: Joseph Downing, 1710), pp. 34, 35, 36.

no yet any where else, could I ever swallow down that hard doctrine concerning Fate." ²⁷ In his thirst after knowledge, More immersed himself in philosophy, studying especially the works of Aristotle, Cardan, and Julius Scaliger. It is interesting to note, however, that while at Cambridge More was somewhat of a skeptic regarding the origin and end of life, although he never doubted the existence of God. In his thirst after knowledge, More read a great deal of philosophy, yet he remained unsatisfied and uncertain, and he recorded his thoughts in poetic form under the title 'Απορία, the Greek signifying "Emptiness":

«Οὐκ ἔγνων πόθεν εἰμὶ ὁ δύσμοςος, οὐδὲ τίς εἰμί, τΩ τῆς ἀφροσύνης, οὐδὲ τῆ ἐρχόμενος.

'Αλλ' ὀδύνης τε γόου τε πολυγνάμπτοις ὀνύχεσι, Ζώω, ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ πανταχοῖ ἑλκόμενος. —

*Ισα ἐγρηγόςσεις καὶ ὀνείςατα, ἄ πάτες, ἄ Ζεῦ, 'Ως σεμνόν· χ' ἡμεῖς ζώομεν ἐν νεφέλαις.

Ψεύδεα, φαντασίη, κενότης, τεςετίσματ' ἀνάγκης, Τἄλλα μὲν ἀγνώτας τὸν βίον οἴδα μόνον.» 28

Eventually More began to suspect that knowledge of things was not the supreme happiness of man; he concluded, after a painstaking study and comprehension of the writings of the Platonists, especially Marsilius Ficinus and Plotinus, that it was better to purge the mind of all vices so as to achieve the mystical illumination of full union with the eternity of Divine and celestial Being. More's early skepticism concerning the origin and the end of the world ceased, and he realized that true holiness was the only safe entrance into divine knowledge. This more optimistic mood was expressed by his poem Eðnogía, the Greek for "Contentment":

«Οὐρανόθεν γέγονα προθορών, Θεοῦ ἄμβροτος ἀκτίς, Κ,' ὁ τῆς εὐφροσύνης, πρὸς Θεὸν εἴμι πάλιν. Νῦν δὲ τ' ἔρως με πτέροισι θεόσσυτος ἐξυπερείδει, Ζῶ δ' ἐπ' ἀληθεία, πάντοτε τερπόμενος. Νὺξ ἀπέδη μὲν ὄναρ τε. Πάτερ θεοδερκέος αὐγῆς, 'Αΐδιον χ' ἡμᾶς ἀμφικάλυψε φάος. Πίστις καὶ σοφίη θεότης, χαρὰ εὔπτερος ἀλκή, Ταῦτα ζωή, ἄδης τἄλλα καὶ οὐδενία.» 29

²⁷ Quoted in Ward, pp. 5-6. Ward further quotes More: "If I am one of those that are predestinated unto Hell, where all things are full of nothing but Cursing and Blasphemy, yet will I behave my self there patiently and submissively towards God . . ."

<sup>Philosophical Poems, p. 334.
Philosophical Poems, p. 334.</sup>

The importance of the "Divine Presence" in More's thought, as well as his abandonment of skepticism altogether, was strongly influenced by his reading of the well-known mystical work, *Theologia Germanica*, "that Golden little Book," which had also moved Luther. The work, along with the works of Plotinus, that further convinced More of the necessity of extinguishing the will of the ordinary self, this being dead to one's self, so that union with the Divine Being might be gained. Indeed, More was to never forget or neglect the inherent meaning of the *Theologia Germanica* and its insistence that "blessedness lieth not in much and many, but in One and oneness. . . . Therefore I must wait only on God and His work, and leave on one side all creatures with their works, and first of all myself." ⁸¹

More agreed in theory and practice with the *Theologia Germanica*,³² and with Plotinus,³³ that man should die unto himself and detach himself by prayer and meditation, from elements and fragments of worldly life, pleasure, and profit. He himself lived and died a private Fellow

³⁰ This little volume of an unknown author stirred Martin Luther to the point that he said that he owed more to this book than to any other, except the Bible and Saint Augustine. See *Theologia Germanica*, trans. Susanna Winkworth (London: Macmillan and Company, 1907), p. xi.

³¹ For years Luther was the sole authority for the text of this work, but, about 1850, a manuscript of it was discovered at Wurtzburg, by Professor Reuss, the librarian of the University there. This manuscript dates from 1497 and has been published verbatim by Professor Pfeiffer of Prague. The translator selected Dr. Pfeiffer's edition as the basis of this work. See *Theologia Germanica*, pp. xxiv-xxv.

⁸² "... that man should die unto himself, that is, to earthly pleasures, consolation, joys, appetites, the I, the Self, and all that is thereof in man ..." Theologia Germanica, p. 52.

^{33 &}quot;Withdraw into yourself and look. And if you do not find yourself beautiful yet, act as does the creator of a statue that is to be made beautiful: he cuts away here, he smoothes there, he makes this line lighter, this other purer, until a lovely face has grown upon his work. So do you also cut away all that is excessive, straighten all that is crooked, bring light to all that is overcast, labour to make all one glow of beauty and never cease chiselling your statue, until there shall shine out on you from it the godlike splendour of virtue, until you shall see the perfect goodness surely established in the stainless shrine." ("Αναγε ἐπὶ σαὐτὸν καὶ ἰδέ· καν μήπω σαὐτὸν ἰδης καλόν, οἶα ποιητὴς ἀγάλματος, δ δεῖ καλὸν γενέσθαι, τὸ μὲν ἀφαιρεῖ, τὸ δὲ ἀπέξεσε, τὸ δὲ λεῖον, τὸ δὲ καθαρὸν ἐποίησεν, ἔως ἔδειξε καλὸν ἐπὶ τῷ ἀγάλματι πρόσωπον· οὕτω καὶ σὺ ἀφαίρει ὅσα περιττά, καὶ ἀπεύθυνεν ὅσα σχόλια, ὅσα σκοτεινὰ καθαίρων ἐργάζου είναι λαμπρά, καὶ μὴ παύση τεκταίνων τὸ σὸν ἄγαλμα, ἕως ἄν ἐκλάμψειε σοὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἡ θεοειδὴς ἀγλαΐα, ἕως ἄν ἰδης σωφροσύνην, ἐν άγνῷ βεδῶσαν καθαρῶς.) Enneads, I., 6, 9.

of Christ's College in Cambridge,34 where "he spent his time in an Angelical way." 35 More's religious mysticism was characterized by a "mystical aloneness," a religion of personal piety and intense contemplation, whereby a union (٤٧ωσις) with the Divine Being could come about. The designs of ambition and the entanglements of the body, 36 as a result, did not affect More in the least. His life was a long contemplation, a life of unbroken prayer (μία προσευχή συνεχομένη) that sought the spiritual joys that emanate from divine reason and holiness. More refused to accept numerous titles and honors; he turned down the Deanery of Christ Church, the Provostship of Dublin College and the Deanery of St. Patrick's in Ireland.³⁷ Although he was ascetic in temperament and personal habits, he did not indulge in the extreme self-denial practiced by other mystics. More had a healthy constitution⁸⁸ and his mysticism did not become at all pathological; rather he always indicated to those who came into contact with him a certain wholesomeness and tranquility.³⁹ Ward reports that when More passed away on September 1, 1687, at the age of 73, following a lingering illness, 40 it was with the deepest feeling of spiritual fulfillment.

According to Dean Inge, More belongs to that type of mystic—akin to Plato⁴¹—who tries to rise through the visible to the invisible, through

^{34 &}quot;He lived and died a private Fellow of Christ's-College in Cambridge: Whose Honour it shall be in Ages to come; as also the Honour of that University (if I can Divine aright) that so Illustrious a Person heretofore adorned it." Ward, p. 60: "It is pleasant to reflect that his active mind remained full of thoughts for others to the last, and that those great questions in which he said he had spent all his time — What is good, and what is true? — were apparently as fresh and important with him at the end as at the beginning." Tulloch, II, 347.

³⁵ Ward, p. 60. ³⁶ Ward, p. 58.

³⁷ See Ward, pp. 57, 58, 59, 60.

³⁸ Ward describes More's appearance as follows: "He was, for Stature in inclining to Tallness; of a thin Body, but of a Serene and Vivacious Countenance; rather pale in his latter Years than florid of Complexion; yet was it Clear and Spirituous; and his Eye hazel, Vivid as an Eagle." Ward, p. 228.

^{39 &}quot;And a friend of mine farther told me, that going on a certain time to see him, he appear'd with a Marvellous sort of Lustre, and Irradiation, as it were, of Charity, and Divine Sense, in his very Eyes and Countenance." Ward, p. 105.

⁴⁰ The last 10 years of More's were uneventful.

⁴¹ This type of mystic is one in whom there can be found "that the highest good is the greatest likeness to God — that the greatest happiness is the vision of God — that we should seek holiness not for the sake of external reward, but because it is the health of the soul, while vice is its disease — that goodness is unity and harmony, while evil is discord and disintegration — that it is our duty and happiness to rise above the visible and transitory to the invisible and permanent." Inge, Christian Mysticism, p. 79.

Nature to God, who finds "in earthly beauty the truest symbol of the heavenly . . ." ⁴² In his readings of mystical literature, More realized that to annihilate the human will it was necessary to go through the three stages of *purification*, *enlightenment*, and *union*, especially as expressed in the *Theologia Germanica*:

"The purification concerneth those who are beginning or repenting, and is brought to pass in a threefold wise; by contrition and sorrow for sin, by full confession, by hearty amendment. The enlightenment belongeth to such as are growing, and also taketh place in three ways: to wit, by the eschewal of sin, by the practice of virtue and good works, and by the willing endurance of all manner of temptation and trials. The union belongeth to such as are perfect, and also is brought to pass in three ways: to wit, by pureness and singleness of heart, by love, and by the contemplation of God, the Creator of all things." 48

However, it must be said that More's mysticism was of a sound proportion, and he did not permit his heart to "run away with his head, or for that matter with his body either." ⁴⁴ And in his *Enchiridion Ethicum* More advised man "to have wherewithal to live well and happily." ⁴⁵ In his concept of the three stages, this *scala perfectionis*, More thought of humility ⁴⁶ in the deep sense of the mystics, that is, an acknowledgment of the utter inability of man, and the complete submission of man's self — τo $\epsilon \gamma o$ — to God. In respect to purity, More stressed the modderation of all appetites (of "animal life") ⁴⁷ and the steadfast affection

48 Theologia Germanica, p. 47.

45 Henry More, Enchiridion Ethicum (New York: The Facsimile Text So-

sweet or sour, with the hair or against it, it is all one to him; for what it cannot avoid, it is the gift of God to the world in order to a greater good." A Collection of Several Philosophical Writings of Henry More, pp. 87 ff.

47 More writes of earthly life: "Such therefore are Anger, Zeal, Indignation, Sorrow, Derision, Mirth, Gravity, Openheartedness, Reservedness, Stoutness, Flexibility, Boldness, Fearfulness, Mildness, Tartness, Candour, Suspicion, Peremptoriness, Despondency, Triumph or Gloriation, all the Propensions to the

⁴² Inge, Christian Mysticism, p. 78.

⁴⁴ W. C. De Pauley, *The Candle of the Lord* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1937), p. 118.

ciety, 1930), p. 26. This book was first published in 1666.

46 "By Humility I understand an entire Submission to the will of God in all things, a Deadness to all self-excellency and pre-eminency before others, a perfect Purgation of all desire of singularity or attracting of the eyes of men upon a man's own person, as little to relish a man's own praise or glory in the world as if he had never been born into it; but to be wholly contented with this one thing, that his will is a subduing to the Will of God, and that with thankfulness and reverence he doth receive whatever Divine Providence brings upon him, be it sweet or sour, with the hair or against it, it is all one to him; for what it cannot avoid, it is the gift of God to the world in order to a greater good." A Collection of Several Philosophical Writings of Henry More, pp. 87 ff

for the perfect ideal of celestial beauty set up by God in our hearts. This is an ideal born in man: we do not create, we can only find it.

More felt that a mystical oneness with God, following the stages leading to such a union, was the highest step in the process of divine enlightenment. Be this divine ecstasy⁴⁸ or the Plotinian beatific vision,⁴⁹ More believed absolutely in the union with the goodness of God. In his poem, "Philosopher's Devotion," he wrote:

"God is good, is wise, is strong,
Witnesse all the creature-throng,
Is confess'd by every Tongue.
All things back from whence they sprong,
As the thankfull rivers pay
What they borrowed of the Sea.
"Now myself I do resigne,
Take me whole, I am thine.
Save me, God! from Self-desire,
Death's pit, dark Hells raging fire,
Envy, Hatred, Vengeance, Ire.
Let not Lust my soul bemire." 50

Exercise of Strength or Activity of Body; as Running, Leaping, Swimming, Wrestling, Tusling, Coursing, or the like: Besides all the courtly Preambles, necessary Concomitants, and delightful Consequences of Marriage. . . . those Enjoyments that arise from correspondent Affections, and mere Natural Friendship betwixt Man and Man, or fuller Companies of Acquaintance; their Friendly Feelings, Sportings, Musick, and Dancings. All these . . . be but the genuine Pullulations of the Animal life; and in themselves. . . . they are Good, according to the Appropation of him that made them . . ." A Collection of Several Philosophical Writings of Henry More, p. 89.

⁴⁸ More "was once for Ten Days together, nowhere (as he termed it) or in one continued fit of Contemplation . . ." Ward, p. 42. More also enjoyed music which "snatched away my Soul into so great Admiration, Love, and Desire of a nearer Acquaintance with that Principle from whence All these things did flow; that the Pleasure and Joy, which frequently accrued to me from hence, is plainly unutterable." Quoted in Ward, p. 55.

^{49 &}quot;In this connection it should be borne in mind that, in contemplative vision, especially when it is vivid, we are not at the time aware of our own personality; we are in possession of ourselves, but the activity is towards the object of vision with which the thinker becomes identified; he has made himself over as matter to be shaped; he takes ideal form under the action of the vision while remaining, potentially, himself." (Πῶς δὴ ταῦτά τις ἀναμνησθήτω, ὡς ὅταν καὶ ἐνταῦθα θεωρῆ, καὶ μάλιστα ἐναργῶς, οὐκ ἐπιστρέφει πρὸς ἑαυτὸν τότε τῆ νοήσει, ἀλλ' ἔχει μὲν ἑαυτόν, ἡ δὲ ἐνέργεια πρὸς ἐκεῖνο κἀκεῖνο γίγνεται, οἴον ὅλην ἑαυτὸν παρασχών, εἰδοποιούμενος δὲ κατὰ τὸ ὁρώμενον καὶ δυνάμει ὢν τότε αὐτός.) Enneads, IV., 4, 2.

⁵⁰ Philosophical Poems, p. 330.

Thus, More's "Now myself I do resigne / Take me whole, I am thine," clearly points out that vision, or ecstasy, "begins when thought ceases, to our consciousness, to proceed from ourselves." Though close to Plato's philosophy, More's mysticism is not to be separated from St. Paul's mysticism, although the former's is not Christocentric in essence. More's mysticism does not depart from the Pauline view that man is basically "the image and glory of God" (I Cor. 11:7) — εἰκὼν καὶ δόξα Θεοῦ ὑπάρχων. 52

Platonic philosophy⁵³ has often been identified as the "old loving nurse" of the Church. The Cambridge Platonists appealed to Plato, condemned by some in the course of the centuries as the "mad theologian" and "bombastic poet," as a confederate against the empiricism and sensualism and materialism which negated access to religious experience in a meaningful way. More and the Cambridge men, embodying the Greek spirit, venerated both Plato and Plotinus, this in contradistinction to Calvinism and Puritanism which took careful precautions to give that which is Christian unquestioned precedence over that which is antique. The goal of More and the other English Platonists was the discovery of being, τοῦ ὄντος ἐξεύρεσις. In order to achieve this, as Cassirer points out, they did not hesitate "to say that the good will of a heathen is godlier than the angry zeal of a Christian." 54 The fact is that More and the others did not openly distinguish between Plato and Plotinus, Platonism and Plotinianism. But both of these, especially to More, were philosophies of values and not form; and both supplemented Christianity in relationship to certain eternal values and a common indifference to worldly preoccupations. More and his colleagues at Cambridge did not seek to superimpose Platonism upon Christianity. They simply wished to find philosophical support in a system which was essentially

⁵¹ Inge, Christian Mysticism, p. 14.

⁵² See also II Cor. 3:18: "But we all, with open face beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image from glory, even as by the spirit of the Lord." (ἡμεῖς δὲ πάντες ἀνακεκαλυμμένω προσώπω τὴν δόξαν Κυρίου κατοπτριζόμενοι, τὴν αὐτὴν εἰκόνα μεταμορφούμεθα ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν καθάπερ ἀπὸ Κυρίου Πνεύματος.)

⁵⁸ William R. Inge, *The Platonic Tradition in English Religious Thought* (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1926), p. 73, quotes Professor J. A. Stewart's evaluation of Platonism as "the mood of one who has a curious eye for the endless variety of this visible and temporal world, and a fine sense of its beauties, yet is haunted by the presence of an invisible and eternal world behind, or, when the mood is most pressing, within the visible and temporal world, and sustaining both it and himself — a world not perceived as external to himself, but inwardly lived by him, as that with which in moments of ecstasy, or even habitually, he is become one."

⁵⁴ Cassirer, p. 73.

religious in spirit, which taught the sole reality of the spiritual world, and which proclaimed the immortality of the soul, and the upward ascent of the soul in the quest for divine union.

Religious mysticism owes a great deal to Plotinus,⁵⁵ to whom the phenomenal world was not evil nor burdened with the defilement of original sin, but was simply the "image" or reflection of the highest perfection of the world above (ἐκεῖ), a realm sought beyond all images, from the image to the prototype.⁵⁶ Henry More was strongly influenced by Plotinus, and his poems⁵⁷ of 1642 and 1647 show this throughout. More's conception of the Christian Trinity of the Godhead was comparable to Plotinus's trinity of the One or the Good, above existence, or God as the Absolute; the Intelligence,⁵⁸ the sphere of real existence, or the organic unity; and the Soul, the sphere of appearance, of imperfect reality, or God as action. More's Plotinianism is clearly brought out in a stanza from his poem, *Psychathanasia*, showing the flowing—emanating—goodness of God:

"When nothing can to Gods own self accrew, Who's infinitely happy; sure the end Of this creation simply was to shew His flowing goodness, which he doth out-send Not for himself; for naught can him amend; But to his creature doth his good impart, This infinite Good through all the world doth wend To fill with heavenly blisse each willing heart: So the free Sunne doth 'light and 'liven every part." 59

In the thinking of More and the Platonists the soul was looked upon as the Plotinian principle of motion, the vital ἀρχὴ τῆς κινήσεως. More further argued, always drawing on Plotinus, that the soul was imma-

⁵⁵ See Inge, *Christian Mysticism*, p. 91 ff. for an excellent account of Plotinian mysticism. See also Inge's well-known two-volume work *The Philosophy of Plotinus* (3rd ed.; London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1929).

⁵⁶ The Very Rev. Georges Florovsky, "Eschatology in the Patristic Age: An Introduction," The Greek Orthodox Theological Review, II (Easter Issue, 1956), 35-36; see also Cassirer, pp. 96 ff.

⁵⁷ For a discussion of More's poetry see George A. Craig's "Umbra Dei: Henry More and the Seventeenth-Century Struggle for Plainness" (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1946), pp. 23-136.

^{58 &}quot;. . . the Intellect, which is the universe of authentic beings, the Truth: as such it is a great god or, better, not a god among gods but the Godhead entire." (. . . νοῦς, τὰ ὅντα πάντα, ἡ ἀλήθεια ἡ δὲ Θεός τις μέγας μᾶλλον δὲ οὐ τίς, ἀλλὰ πᾶς ἀξιοῖ, ταῦτα είναι.) Enneads, V., 5, 3.

⁵⁹ Psychathanasia, Book III, Canto III, stanza 16.

terial and immortal because it was independent of the body. First of all, More believed, that the body which was dependent on the soul, was in the soul. Secondly, the soul could be occupied with its own thoughts without affecting the body, thus centering its attention upon the contemplative quest of its own well-being. Thirdly, since the soul does not emanate from sensual things, it could resist the desires of the body, sublimating the material lusts and devoting itself to the intellectual love of divine qualities. And fourthly, the soul was a continuum of existence, growing in force and strength, while sense, fancy, and memory faded away with the gradual disintegration of the body. More refers to the soul's independence of the body in the following:

"What disadvantage then can the decay
Of this poore carcase do, when it doth fade?
The soul no more depends on this frail clay
Then on our eye depends bright Phoebus glist'ring ray." 61

More also believed in the pre-existence of the soul: He contended that God was good; and if the soul was also good, as he believed, God would naturally have created the soul early in the divine scheme. For More the pilgrimage of the soul through earthly life was primarily a quest for "return to the source from which all being emerged and for unification with the realm of divine entities above the world of material things." ⁶² The end of this pilgrimage was marked by a spiritual catharsis and a mystical union with God. More realized, of course, that this ecstatic vision would not be granted without one's fulfilling certain conditions which Plotinus best describes: "The very soul, once it has conceived the straining love towards this, lays aside all shape it has taken, even to the Intellectual shape that has informed it. There is no vision, no union, for those handling or acting by any thing other; the soul must see before it neither evil nor any thing else, that alone it may receive Alone." ⁶³ Also, in true Plotinian fashion, More argued in favor of three

^{60 &}quot;The secret is: firstly, that this All is one universally comprehensive living being, encircling all the living being within it, and having a soul, one soul, which extends to all its members . . ." (Π οῶτον τοίνυν θετέον ζῶον ἔν, πάντα τὰ ζῶα τὰ ἐντὸς αὐτοῦ περιέχον, τόδε τὸ πᾶν είναι, ψυχὴν μίαν ἔχον εἰς πάντα αὐτοῦ μέρη . . .) Enneads, IV., 4, 32.

⁶¹ Psychathanasia, Book III, Canto II, stanza 22.

⁶² Paul R. Anderson, Science in Defense of Liberal Religion (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1933), p. 104.

⁶⁸ Έπεὶ καὶ ψυχή, ὅταν αὐτοῦ ἔρωτα σύντονον λάδη, ἀποτίθεται πᾶσαν, ἢν ἔχει μορφήν, καὶ ἥτις ἄν καὶ νοητοῦ ἢ ἐν αὐτῆ. Οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἔχοντά τι ἄλλο καὶ ἐνεργοῦντα περὶ αὐτὸ οὕτε ἰδεῖν, οὕτε ἐναρμοσθῆναι, ἀλλὰ δεῖ μήτε αὖ ἀγαθὸν μηδὲν ἄλλο πρόχειρον ἔχειν, ἵνα δέξηται μόνη μόνον. Enneads, VI., 7, 34.

realms of the soul: the *terrestrial*, which was the combination of soul and body; the *aereal*, which was the separation of the soul and body, and the former's attachment to the particles in the air; and the *ethereal*, which was the union with the highest category of Being, above reason and intelligence.⁶⁴

In further trying to substantiate the Plotinian concept that the footprints (ἴχνη) of the universal soul could be found everywhere, More in his later years began to give greater credence to the "proofs" from testimonies of apparitions and witchcraft, that is, proofs of the actual existence of spirit as a substance distinct from matter. Willey in his analysis of this writes: "The fact is that in appealing to demonology More, like Browne and Glanvill, was tapping a reservoir of traditional supernatural belief which lay deeper in the national consciousness than Christianity itself, and deeper, certainly, than the new ice-crust of rationalism which now covered it."65 More not only reported but accepted such "proofs" as bricks flying in a room; stones hurled by unseen hands from a roof; pots traveling to and from the fire; violent flappings of a chestcover; table-cloths and sheets in the air on a calm day; boxes locked, then unlocking themselves; the vomiting of cloth stuck with pins, nails, needles, glass, iron, and hair.66 One cannot fail to mention that More was not alone in these beliefs: Bacon trusted in charms and amulets. Dr. Johnson believed in ghosts, witches, and second sight. Boyle recommended the thigh-bone of a hanged man as a cure for a violent disease. Berkeley had an honest faith in tar-water. And Dr. Rush prescribed cloves and mace to strengthen the memory.

Essentially More's concept of God was Plotinian: God was the δύναμις producing all things but produced by none, the source of all beauty, ⁶⁷ the end of all things (πάντων μέτρος καὶ πέρας), the highest

⁶⁴ In this highest state "there is nothing between: here is no longer a duality but a two in one; for, so long as the presence holds, all distinction fades: it is as lover and beloved here, in a copy of that union, long to blend; the soul has now no further awareness of being in body and will give herself no foreign name, not 'man' not 'living being,' not 'being,' not 'all' . . ." (. . . μεταξύ γὰς οὐδέν, οὐδ ἔτι δύο, ἀλλ' ἕν ἄμφω· οὐ γὰς ἄν διακςίναις ἔτι, ἔως πάςεστι, [μίμησις δὲ τούτου, καὶ οἱ ἐνταῦθα ἐςασταὶ καὶ ἐςώμενοι συγκςῖναι θέλοντες] καὶ οὕτε σώματος ἔτι αἰσθάνεται, ὅτι ἐστὶν ἐν αὐτῷ, οὕτε ἑαυτὴν ἄλλο τι λέγει, οὐκ ἄνθςωπον οὐ ζῶον, οὐκ ὄν, οὐδὲ πᾶν.) Enneads, VI., 7, 34.

⁶⁵ Willey, p. 170.

⁶⁶ In his Antidote Against Atheism, More devotes the whole of Book III to a discussion of these occurrences.

⁶⁷ More felt that everything in nature was an extension of the Knowing Principle: "Let us therefore swiftly course over the Valleys and Mountains; found the depth of the Sea, range the Woods and Forests, dig into the entrails of the Earth, and let the atheist tell me which of all these places are silent, and say

good and wisdom, ⁶⁸ the transcendence of all existence itself, the highest abstraction, superior even to the Platonic Idea. To More, as to Plotinus, the human mind would return to $(\tilde{\epsilon}\pi \iota \sigma \tau \varrho o \phi \eta)$ and unite with the absolute only after passage between vulgar opinion $(\delta \delta \xi \alpha)$ and philosophical knowledge $(\gamma \nu \tilde{\omega} \sigma \iota \varsigma)$. ⁶⁹ More believed that the innate idea of God existed in man. "It remains therefore undeniable," he wrote, "that there is an inseparable Idea of a Being absolutely Perfect ever residing, though not always acting, in the Soul of Man." ⁷⁰ More, closely adhering to Plotinian emanatistic theory, looked upon the world as an *overflow* of the divine life, and believed in the return of the being to its divine source, made possible through contemplation $(\vartheta \epsilon \omega \varrho \iota \alpha)$. ⁷¹ He believed that the mind of man is as the image of God, drawn and descending from Him. More's faith in the true Holiness and infinite greatness of God is seen in his lines:

"From thy Works my Joy proceeds: How I triumphed in thy Deeds! Who they Wonders can express? All thy Thoughts are fathomless, Hid from Men in Knowledge blind, Hid from Fools to Vice inclin'd." ⁷²

nothing of God." A Collection of Several Philosophical Writings of Henry More, p. 48.

68 More stressed that God's wisdom was everywhere, universal and eternal. "Wherefore the whole Creation in general and every part thereof being so ordered as if the most exquisite Reason and Knowledge had contrived them, it is as natural to conclude that all this is the work of a Wise God..." A Collection of Several Philosophical Writings of Henry More, p. 85.

69 More earnestly agreed that when union took place, "there is no spiritual pride or irreverent spirit, but boundless humility, and a lowly broken heart; also an honest blameless walk, justice, peace, content . . ." Theologia Germanica,

pp. 100-101.

⁷⁰ Antidote Against Atheism, p. 13.

71 Yet More did not believe that contemplation should be secured at the expense of ethical duties. "God forbid, Philopolis, that the sweet of Contemplation should ever put your Mouth out of tast with the savoury Usefullness of Secular Negotiations. To do good to Men, to assist the injured, to relieve the necessitous, to advise the ignorant in his necessary Affairs, to bring up a Family in the fear of God and a chearful hope of everlasting Happiness after this Life, does as much transcend our manner of living, if it ended in a mere pleasing our selves in the delicacy of select Notions, as solid Goodness does empty Phantastry, or sincere Charity the most childish Sophistry there is. The exercise of Love and Goodness, of Humanity and Brotherly kindness, of Prudence and Discretion, of Faithfulness and Neighbourliness, of unfeigned Devotion and Religion, in the plain and undoubted Duties thereof, is to the truly regenerate Soul a far greater pleasure than all the fine Speculations imaginable." Henry More, Divine Dialogues (2nd ed.; London: Joseph Downing, 1668), pp. 524-525.

With Philo More agreed that man's rational faculty was a temple of God, and with Plotinus that the human intellect was an image of the divine rationality which was the emanation of God. 73 Indeed, More believed in the excellency and necessity of reason for the maintaining of the truth of Christian religion. He enthusiastically quoted Cicero's saying, "Rationem, quo ea me cunque ducet, sequar," 74 in his attempts to bolster the "two grand pillars" 75 of religion, the existence of God and the immortality of the soul. But he was convinced that piety was the key to knowledge, that keenness of insight proceeded from purity of life, that the life of contemplation was superior to that of pleasure and statesmanship (θεωρητικός βίος ἀπολαυστικός, πολιτικός, θεωρητικός). Becoming religious (θεοσεβής) was to More of supreme importance, in a life that was really the struggle between the lofty and the low. More's emphasis on reason, however, did not become an arrogant and impossible demand for a fool-proof system of theology that was free of mystery. More felt, rather, that reason should "construct a philosophy round these two pivots, God and Man." 76 And even when More sought to establish a free intercourse between religion and the natural sciences and philosophies, he kept uppermost in his mind that scientific advances and discoveries were nothing more than the revelations of the immanence, beneficence, and wisdom of God.

To More the Greek concept of man's life as a continual effort to achieve the beautiful and good (καλὸν κάγαθόν) was the central part of his ethical point of view. Ethical living was part of divine living and the harmonious (ἔμμετρος) unity of both brought man to a point of perfection, εἰς ἄνδρα τέλειον. Goodness and happiness were identical, thus, to More. Along with Cudworth he felt that human nature was inherently divine: "I come from Heaven; am an immortal Ray / of God; O Joy! and back to God shall goe." To Both stressed that all appetites and passions "yet fall into proper subordination to the higher divine faculty or reason, which distinguishes man, and stamps him a

^{73 &}quot;Whatever of Intellectual light is communicated to us, is derived from hence and is in us Particular Reason, or Reason in Succession, or by piecemeal. Nor is there any thing the holy Spirit did ever suggest to any man but it was agreeable to, if not demonstrable from, what we call Reason." A Collection of Several Philosophical Writings of Henry More, p. 39. "Now God is also a Light and a Reason [Erkenntniss], the property of which is to give light and shine, and take knowledge; and inasmuch as God is Light and Reason, He must give light and perceive." Theologia Germanica, p. 113.

⁷⁴ A Collection of Several Philosophical Writings of Henry More, p. V.

⁷⁵ A Collection of Several Philosophical Writings of Henry More, p. IV.

⁷⁶ De Pauley, pp. 120-121.

⁷⁷ Quoted in Ward, p. 16.

moral being.⁷⁸ More stressed again and again in his Enchiridion Ethicum ("a middle ground of ethical doctrine"),79 which was really an answer to Hobbianism, that "Passions therefore are not only good, but singularly needful to the perfecting of human life." 80 He emphasized that proper guidance and regulation were necessary at all times, in order to avoid sensualism of an extreme sort. More did not fail to introduce an element of mysticism and religious faith in his ethics, pointing out that the end of human life was purification and assimilation with divinity. The existence of a divine moral faculty in man was always a primary belief in More's thinking. He called this the "Boniform Faculty of the Soul," 81 which represented the moral sense of the soul, and which was the image of God in man's soul, containing right reason.

Henry More steadfastly believed in absolutes, in absolute good, absolute evil, absolute values, absolute justice. The publication of Thomas Hobbes's Leviathan in 1651 contributed a great deal to the growth and maturity of More and the Cambridge Platonists, since they had not only to answer Hobbes's materialism, which denied the existence of a spiritual soul and freedom of will, but also to combat his belief that the source of all moral obligation lay in power and civil authority. Hobbes's materialistic theory of perception affirmed the reality of the "body," while More affirmed the reality of the spirit. The ideological struggle, therefore, embodied in Cambridge Platonism and Hobbianism certainly resulted in bitter and intense feelings during the seventeenth century. Hobbes believed that thinking was in reality feeling: an incorporeal spirit does not exist; there can be no "image made of a thing invisible;" 82 the natural state helps to keep order amidst instinctive struggle, bellum omnium contra omnes; the death of the body is the death of the soul. "For him the word of God is really little but a symbol of the philosopher's fatigue." 83 Hobbes's philosophy 84 is

⁷⁸ Tulloch, II, 404.

⁷⁹ Eugene M. Austin, The Ethics of the Cambridge Platonists (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1935), p. 38.

⁸⁰ Enchiridion Ethicum, p. 41.

^{81 &}quot;Hence it is plain, that supreme Happiness is not barely to be placed in the Intellect; but her proper Seat must be called the Boniform Faculty of the Soul: namely, a Faculty of that divine Composition, and supernatural Texture, as enables us to distinguish not only what is simply and absolutely the best, but to relish it, and to have pleasure in that alone." *Enchiridion Ethicum*, p. 6.

82 Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ed. A. R. Walter (London: Cambridge Uni-

versity Press, 1935), p. 481.

⁸⁸ Willey, p. 118.

⁸⁴ Deane Inge compares the system of Hobbes to "a kind of inverted Platonism." "For him, as for Plato, the State is the man writ large; and 'the appetites of men and passions of their minds are such that unless they be restrained

one of negation, while that expressed by More is an affirmation of absolutes. Principal Tulloch even reports, strangely enough, that Hobbes "was in the habit of saying that if ever he found his own opinions untenable, 'he would embrace the philosophy of Dr. More.'" 85

The Cambridge Platonists wished to look on nature as plastic, not mechanical;86 More, wishing to reunite matter and spirit, looked on spirit as an active force, penetrating and moving matter. 87 In the work of his contemporary, René Descartes, More sought an ally, one whose science might augment the metaphysical beliefs of the English Platonists. More was actually enamoured at first by the rational clearness of the Cartesian speculations which had departed from the scholastic tradition, and which unified and reconciled philosophical truths through reason. Descartes's ideas especially fascinated More because they clearly affirmed the existence of the soul and God as fundamental certainties. "By the name God," said Descartes, "I understand a substance infinite [eternal, immutable], independent, all-knowing, all-powerful, and by which I myself, and every other thing exists, if any such there be, were created. . . . And thus . . . God exists: for though the idea of substance be in my mind owing to this, that I myself am a substance, I should not, however, have the idea of an infinite substance, seeing I am a finite being, unless it were given me by some substance in reality infinite." 88

by some power, they will always be making war upon one another.' Plato would agree; but whereas with him the ruling and harmonising power is to be found within, the spiritual faculty which enables us to rise above the jarring world of claims and counter-claims into the serene air of eternal life, where the Idea of the good presides over the world of 'things which are not seen,' with Hobbes all knowledge proceeds from sensation, and reality is just the cockpit of strife and self-seeking from which the Platonists promise us an escape into 'our dear country.' The natural state, according to Hobbes, is one in which 'every man is enemy to every man,' and in war 'force and fraud are the two cardinal virtues.' 'The right of nature is the liberty each man hath to use his own power, as he will himself, for the preservation of his own nature, that is to say of his own life.' 'Inge, The Platonic Tradition in English Religious Thought, pp. 44-45.

⁸⁵ Tulloch, II, 366. See also Ward, p. 80.

⁸⁶ Cassirer, p. 51.

⁸⁷ Willey, p. 169.

⁸⁸ René Descartes, A Discourse on Method and Selected Writings, trans. John Veitch (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, Inc., 1951), p. 115. ("Par le nom de Dieu j'entends une substance infinie éternelle, immuable, indépendante, toute connaissante, toute puissante, et toutes les autres choses qui sont (s'il est vrai qu'il y en ait qui existent) ont été créées et produites. . . . Et, par conséquent il faut nécessairement conclure . . . que Dieu existe: car encore que l'idée de la substance soit en moi de cela même que je suis une substance, je n'aurais pas néanmoins l'idée d'une substance infinie, moi qui suis un être fini, si elle n'avait été mise en moi quelque substance qui fût véritablement infinie.")

However, when More began to reflect upon Descartes's findings, it became clear that the work of the latter was rooted in logic and epistemology, not in metaphysics and theology.89 More strongly believed that all existence, spiritual or material substance was extended, res extensa; for if God were unextended, He was necessarily nowhere. More's early admiration of Cartesianism was dampened, to say the least, when Descartes's dualistic system was understood: For how could More ever separate, as did Descartes, res cogitans, that is, the realm of thought and knowledge of God and soul, from res extensa, that is, the realm of physical phenomena? More and the English Platonists felt that Cartesianism condemned nature to a standstill, since in Descartes's mechanistic system spiritual substance was put in a realm of its own with no unifying and spiritual bond with the phenomenal world. "There would be no purposive deity. There would be no causative spiritual power. There would be no organizing force." 90 More felt that Descartes was guilty of the unpardonable sin of denuding the spirit of all attributes, and placing God in a spiritual realm that was not attached to the natural world of phenomena. Thus Descartes was affirming God as a mere abstraction. The Cartesians, to More, were "Nullubists" who affirmed that a spirit is "nullubi," or nowhere.91 More had no choice, then, but to oppose Cartesianism because it excluded the influence of every nonmaterial cause of natural phenomena.

Henry More was throughout his life a contemplative mystic, a "divinely intoxicated genius." ⁹² His love of God was made fuller and truer by his reverence for the Greek spirit of interpretation and for the ancient and divinely inspired philosophers (οἱ ἀρχαῖοι καὶ μακάριοι φιλόσοφοι). He fought atheism, skepticism, and materialism in every possible way, and he upheld absolutes without fear or hesitation. Culture of itself was not enough ⁹⁸ for More, since his was the life of theological mysticism. In true Platonic fashion, he cried out:

⁸⁹ The criticism of Cartesianism is best summarized by Pascal's words, "Ce qui passe la géométrie nous surpasse" — or what is beyond geometry is beyond us.

⁹⁰ Anderson, p. 167.

⁹¹ Tulloch, II, 383-384.

⁹² Tulloch, II, 395.

⁹³ See De Pauley, pp. 147-148.

"O thou eternall Spright, cleave ope the skie,
And take thy flight into my feeble breast,
Enlarge my thoughts, enlight my dimmer eye,
That wisely of that burthen closely prest
In my straight mind, I may be dispossest:
My Muse must sing of things of mickle weight;
The souls eternity is my quest:
Do thou me guide, that art the souls sure light,
Grant that I never erre, but ever wend aright!" 94

Henry More was the embodiment of the Christian spirit in his sincerity and devotion, and his life exemplified and realized the super-excellence of Christian virtue in its most pristine beauty. His life was of "an inwardness too deep for words." ⁹⁵

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⁹⁴ Psychathanasia, Book I, Canto I, stanza 25.

⁹⁵ Craig, p. 425.



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INTERNATIONAL STATUS OF THE ECUMENICAL PATRIARCHATE

By BASIL S. GIANNAKAKIS

[This is the first of two articles by Mr. Giannakakis on the Ecumenical Patriarchate.—ED.]

The Patriarch of Constantinople, who has the title of "Archbishop of Constantinople the New Rome, Ecumenical Patriarch," is the spiritual leader of the Orthodox Church all over the world. In addition to his spiritual authority recognized by the Orthodox Church, he also exercises ecclesiastical power over the Orthodox minorities in Turkey.¹

The Greek Orthodox Church has three other Patriarchs, besides the Patriarch of Constantinople, at Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem. Canonically the four are all equal,² but the three last mentioned allow an honorary precedence to the Patriarch of Constantinople. He is elected and consecrated by the Holy Synod ('Iegà Σύνοδος) which is considered the sacred college of the Ecumenical Throne. It is composed of twelve Archbishops and its functions consist in superintending with the Patriarch, the maintenance of ecclesiastical discipline. It gives its decisions in the form of decrees or of synodical letters.

As it was mentioned above, the Ecumenical Patriarch is the primate of all the Christian Orthodox Churches.⁸ In this capacity he deals with the Heads of the autocephalous Orthodox Churches on all questions relating to faith, Christian morals, and ecclesiastical law. In these

¹ During the Ottoman rule the Patriarch was the *ex officio* representative of the Greek nation to the Ottoman Government with which he was communicating either in person or by his Ministers for Foreign Affairs (styled "Great Logothete"), and by his Vice-Chancellor.

² Those of the Orthodox denomination are a group of quite independent Churches, each under its own Patriarch, the four ancient Patriarchates and the more modern Patriarchates of Russia, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and so forth, while those of Roman Catholic denomination find their supreme head in the Papacy. In this structure, the Orthodox Church is like the Anglican Church which also consists of a group of independent Churches, namely, the Irish, Scottish, Welsh, American, and South African, under the primacy of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

³ There are about 150,000,000 Orthodox Christians in the world.

matters the views and authority of the Ecumenical Patriarch are of predominant importance.

The Ecumenical Patriarch is the chief of all the Metropolitans, Archbishops and Bishops belonging to the system of the Great Church which has its see in the city of Constantinople, and is the first of all the autocephalous Orthodox Churches. The Patriarch, surrounded by the Permanent Holy Synod, governs the Church from the Ecumenical Throne. He nominates, consecrates, judges, and deposes Archbishops and Bishops within the sphere of his Church and Abbots of patriarchal convents and monasteries. Within his jurisdiction also lies the settlements of all ecclesiastical questions that are outside the competence of the archbishops residing in the various dioceses dependent on the Ecumenical Throne. As the Archbishop of Constantinople, he also exercises his pastoral rights over his entire diocese in the same manner as any other Archbishop or Bishop. The above rights and privileges are united in the single person of the Patriarch and are derived from the Holy Ecumenical Councils.

The Ecumenical Patriarchate,⁵ which from the very beginning and at all times has had its seat in Constantinople, was established by the Second [Canon 3], Fourth [Canon 28], Fifth and Sixth [Canon 37] Ecumenical Synods. It continued to function, under these charters, throughout the whole period of the Byzantine Empire and the centuries of Turkish rule up to the present time.

The Patriarchate is the only ecclesiastical authority in Orthodoxy which has the right to call together, in concert with the other Orthodox Churches, pan-Orthodox conferences, pro-synods and Ecumenical Synods.

The seat of the Patriarchate is in the Greek suburb of Istanbul, the Phanar.⁶ Here, amid a group of buildings, with the Greek college on the hill behind, stands the Greek Cathedral of St. George and the official residence of the Patriarch.

⁴ Today the Ecumenical Patriarchate has four Metropoles [Chalcedon, Derkon, Principonisos, Imbrus] in Turkey; four Metropoles in Dodecanesos; one in America [North and South]; one in Australia; two in Europe [the one being Russian]; one in Prague, Czechoslovakia; two autonomous Archdioceses in Estonia and Finland; and an autonomous one in Crete.

⁵ It is called "Patriarchate of Constantinople," "Great Church of Christ," and "Church of Constantinople" [Eglise de Constantinople, ou Eglise de Phanar ou Eglise phanariote]. The Turks call it "Rum Patrikhanesi," or "Istanbul Patrikhanesi."

^{6 &}quot;Phanar" is called the Greek quarter of the city.

The seat of the Patriarch fell vacant for two years, when the ancient city of Constantinople succumbed to the invading Turks (1453). But this situation did not continue long. Muhammed the Conqueror thought it fit to confer with the Greek leaders and his directions are quite opposite.⁷ The Conqueror directed them to elect a Patriarch of their own choice.

The Holy Synod chose a monk named Gennadius. When the Sultan heard about this choice, he invited Gennadius and the clergy for a conference. On that occasion he presented a precious scepter to Gennadius and said: "Be Patriarch, and may Heaven protect you! On every occasion count upon my friendship and enjoy all the privileges possessed by your predecessors." These words were the charter of the Greek privileges, upon which was based the considerable civil jurisdiction which the Patriarch and his tribunals had always enjoyed. The history of the Patriarchate unmistakably shows that whenever these privileges were disputed or its authority challenged, those words of the Sultan were cited as the authority for its exercise. One of the purposes of this recognition of the Patriarch was to bring together the various elements of the states as compact homogenous entities.

The Patriarch was given the title "Mil'let Bashi," or head of the nation, 11 and the Turkish title "Rutbetlu" which means "His Holi-

⁷ "It is none of my business whom you choose for your Patriarch. Elect anyone who suits you and consecrate him according to your ancient usages. But this vacancy is intolerable and I do not countenance it. Get down to work at once. Your man will have my backing but delay and I shall have your heads." Crabitès, The Courts of Egypt, 11 A.B.A.J. 485 (1925).

⁸ See H. S. Williams, 24 Historians History of the World 329 (1907), Bertram, The Orthodox Privileges in Turkey, 10 N.S. J.S.C.L. 127 (1909), also Eversley & Chirol, The Turkish Empire 88 (1924).

⁹ In the Turkish official language the word privilege was expressed in the term "Imtiyazat-I mezhebiye" (religious privileges). But from the beginning of the 20th century they replaced the above term with the word "Mukarrerat" or "Musaadat" (decisions, permissions). The word "Imtiyaz" means distinction, advantage, privilege, while the word "mukarrerat" means opinion and decision taken temporarily on a subject matter; therefore it connotes something the temporary and revokable. Similarly the word "musaadat," used also in the official Turkish language, means permission, condescension. Nicholas Eleftheriades, The Privileges of the Ecumenical Patriarchate 224 (in Greek, 1909).

¹⁰ Bertram, op. cit. supra.

¹¹ The word "mil'let" (nation) was later replaced by "djema'at" (community). See Brown, Foreigners in Turkey 18 (1914).

ness," 12 and was ranked as a vizier with a janissary guard. Thus the Patriarch became in effect the Pope of the Eastern Church.

The Hatti-sharif, issued at the installation of Gennadius, contains in detail the prerogatives of the office of the Patriarch. This gave him, *inter alia*, judicial powers as head of the Greek community, with plenary powers to decide all civil, criminal, correctional, and other causes affecting marriage, divorces, legacies, and testaments between two or more Greeks.¹⁸

Though from the point of view of European law the position of foreigners in the East was considered as privileged, in fact these so-called privileges at their origin, were necessitated by the feasibility of the application exclusively to Moslems of Islamic ideas, jurisprudence, and laws belonging solely to the sphere of religion. This is the main reason why the Turks, at the time of the conquest of Constantinople, granted to the conquered population who remained subject to the Empire the freedom to practice their religion. Those "privileges" accorded by the Conqueror, were not so much privileges as rights. They proceeded from no act of grace, but were strictly in pursuance of the fundamental principles and tenets of the Islamic teaching. ¹⁴

¹² Young, 2 Corps de droit ottoman 2 (1905).

¹⁸ Thereafter, at every installation of the Patriarchs, the Sultan used to give them a Berat, which was the exequatur (exequatur ou diplôme d'investiture) of every Patriarch or Metropolitan. They were similar to the Berat given to the Consuls-General of the Great Powers in Turkey. The difference between the two Berats is that while the latter was based on international agreement (capitulation) the former was based on the Ottoman law, mainly the Sacred law. Thus it can hardly be said that the Berats given to the Patriarchs were evidence of international responsibility of Turkey to grant the privileges of the Patriarchate, as was sought to be argued by some jurists, especially Greeks.

¹⁴ The Prophet Muhammed seemed to consider all mankind as divided into two opposing camps, namely, the "House of Islam" (Dar-ul-islam), and the "House of War," that of all unbelievers (Dar ul Harp). He furthermore provided that all conquered non-Moslems might live in peace under Moslem jurisdiction by paying tribute (haradj). The Islamic teachings therefore, from the beginning, recognized the existence and independence of Christianity in a Moslem country and the freedom of the Christians to practice their religion, without the necessity to have recourse to the Islamic law when it is contrary to their religious understanding. Eleftheriades, op. cit. supra, note 9, at 14-15. The Ottoman authorities were not competent to administer such laws, and the non-Moslems had the right to appeal to their religious heads, the Mil'let Bashi (Head of the Nation — title also conferred to the Patriarch), who thus became, in a sense, political authority. While this had created some embarrassments to the Turkish authority, they were at the same time relieved of the more embarrassing obligation of assuming jurisdiction in matters foreign to Moslem law and usage.

The regime of Muhammed the Conqueror has important bearing on the status of the Patriarchate. For centuries, after Muhammed, the Patriarchs referred to his regime to justify the existence of their privileges. But the reason which prompted him to grant those privileges was a matter of considerable conflict of opinion.¹⁵ For instance, it was sought to be argued that Turks granted them for political reasons lest the union of the Churches should rouse European sentiments against them. But it is more reasonable to consider the reasons as based purely on religious considerations, even more so when the Conqueror granted similar privileges to the Armenian Patriarch and even to the Grand Rabbi at a time when the Jews were being persecuted in Christian Europe.¹⁶

The Greek Patriarchate was soon recognized by Turkey as the representative authority of all the Christian subjects of the Ottoman Em-

The solution to the problem reached by Sultan Muhammed, by granting immunities from jurisdiction to his non-Moslem subjects, may therefore be considered on the whole as wise and satisfactory.

The Sheriat, or sacred law of Islam, guarantees the right of the non-Moslem in Moslem lands to practice their religion, not only in their ritual aspects but also to matters like marriage, inheritance laws, education, religious endowments, etc. It further enjoins that non-Moslems must be subject to their own authorities in these matters. These rights were from ancient times exercised by the Ecumenical Patriarchs of Constantinople, as well as by the Patriarchs at Jerusalem and Alexandria, on behalf of the Orthodox communicants in the Ottoman Empire, down to March 2, 1919. Not only the Greek but also the Armenian Patriarchate and the Grand Rabbinate of Turkey enjoyed from the beginning similar privileges.

¹⁵ Id. at 6-7. When Muhammed occupied Constantinople, he found existent all over the Byzantine Empire a system of immunity for the foreigners. Every nation under that Empire had the right to have its own jurisprudence, laws and judiciary. Thus the Venetian had the Balt, the Genuish the Podesta, the Ragusian the Console, and the Moslem the Cadt. The Conqueror preserved the same system and applied it to the Byzantines. Therefore, it was argued, one of the main reasons for the privileges of the Church was the existing international law at the time of the conquest. But it may be pointed out that since through the privileges of the Church only the relations between the subjects of the same state, namely the Ottoman Empire, were regulated, the rules of international law, if at all thought of, could not possibly have been applied in this matter. See an analysis of the subject in Eleftheriades, op. cit. supra at 33-47.

¹⁶ It is significant that the sentiments of Christian Europe were not a whit roused when the Patriarchs were subject to untold sufferings at the hands of the Turks. Records reveal that even when the Patriarchs were hanged, there were no protests from Christian Europe.

pire.¹⁷ The office of the Patriarch ¹⁸ discharged functions both religious and secular. It organized education; it dealt with such civil matters as marriage, wardship, inheritance, registration of births and deaths; and had courts of justice covering substantially the field of civil law. At a time when the Ottoman Empire extended far and wide, bringing within its ambit heterogenous nations, the above system proved very convenient. But eventually, when the Christian nations of that Empire one by one attained their independence, this system gradually became an anachronism.¹⁹ In the case of the Ecumenical Patriarchate it was alleged by some Turks and foreigners that in the new national Turkish State there was no place for such an institution, particularly as the holder of the office was generally believed to be the chief center of the political agitation which hampered the Turks in their national struggle with Greece.²⁰

It is not certain that the Ecumenical Patriarchate had ever engaged itself in political agitation against Turkey. It seems nevertheless true, that when some of the Great Powers after the first world war examined the possibility of detaching Constantinople from Turkey, the then Patriarch expressed his enthusiasm for the idea of encouraging the internationalization of the old city. This may be the only instance of the exercise by the Patriarchate of some kind of political activity hostile to the Ottoman Empire. During the entire period of more than five centuries in which the Patriarchate existed side by side with the Ottoman Empire, the activities of the Patriarchate were not on any occasion subject to scrutiny or complaint by the Turkish authorities. Except in the one instance mentioned above, the Patriarchate never failed in its loyalty to the Ottoman Empire. Though Gregory V, the Patriarch, was hanged

¹⁷ Before the resurrection of independent Balkan states in the nineteenth century, the Turkish Government was accustomed to classify its Christian subjects by their common religion rather than by their distinctive races.

The Ecumenical Patriarchate at Constantinople had ecclesiastical jurisdiction not only over all the Greeks (except those of Cyprus, whose Archbishop has been head of an autocephalous Church since the Council of Ephesus in A.D. 431, and enjoys the privilege of signing his name in red ink), but also over the Serbs, Bulgarians, Roumanians and Albanians.

¹⁸ Ever since 1453 the Patriarch had been an official of the Sultan's Government. In later days, since the introduction of constitutional government at Constantinople, the heads of the non-Moslem communities in the Ottoman Empire, of which the Ecumenical Patriarch was the most important, had been officials of the Ministry of Justice in the Sultan's Cabinet. This historic relationship, however, was broken off by the Patriarchate on March 9, 1919, in a note which drew a protest from the Ottoman Government.

^{19 2} Survey of International Affairs 267 (1925).

²⁰ See also p. 22 infra.

in 1821 after the Greek insurrection, the execution, as a matter of fact, was not the result of any personal responsibility of the Patriarch for the insurrection. On the other hand, out of a deep sense of loyalty to the Government, the Patriarch had even advocated the excommunication of those Ottoman subjects who took part in the insurrection. Gregory V was executed as he was deemed to be the head of the Greek nation (Mil'le Baschi), recognized as such by the Ottoman Government.²¹

When the Caliphate was abolished in March, 1924, there was a strong popular demand in Turkey for expelling also the heads of the foreign religious communities.²² Nevertheless the Turkish Government

²¹ "No proof of disloyalty on the part of the Patriarch could be derived from the events which occurred during the last war. . . . One must bear in mind the great turmoil in men's consciences to which a cataclysm such as the war had given rise, and it would be both unjust and dangerous to judge the future on the basis of the past." E. Veniselos, Lausanne Conference, 1 Turkey, CMD, No. 1814 at 322 (1923). The future shows that the Patriarchate has ever since abstained from any political activity. Now it seems certain that since its powers are confined to only religious matters, it will continue as a strictly religious institution. But during the critical years after the first world war, the Patriarchate found itself enmeshed in the antagonism between the Great Powers and between Greece and Turkey.

Meletios IV, the then Patriarch, who was involving himself in political propaganda, was soon the object of a demonstration by a riotous mob, which forced its way into the Phanar. Meletios withdrew from Constantinople on July 10, 1923, proceeding to Salonica and a suggestion was put forward at the time, that the Patriarchate might be transferred to that city. Such an idea, however, did not commend itself either to Greeks or to other Orthodox Churches. An acrimonious controversy was closed by the abdication of Meletios, which was communicated to the Holy Synod on November 10, 1923, the prelate himself retir-

ing to a monastery on Mount Athos.

The election of his successor Gregorios VII, who was enthroned on December 13, 1923, was a turbulent one. Papa Eftim, who was nominally head of the so-called Turkish Orthodox Church of Anatolia [a small community which maintained that the Greeks of Asia Minor were in fact only Christianized Turks], led a violent opposition to the new Patriarch. Papa Eftim immediately after the election forcibly occupied the Phanar, drove out five Archbishops of the Holy Synod, and called upon the elected Patriarch Gregory to resign the Throne. Finally the Turkish Government intervened and forced Eftim to leave the building, because, in fact, he was merely an adventurer, whose exploits were undertaken with an eye to his own advantage. See *The Manchester Guardian*, December 10, 1923, p. 9 col. 3.

²² Mustafa Kemal stated to a newspaper correspondent that "now that the Caliphate had been suppressed, it would be necessary also to suppress the Ecumenical Patriarchate, the Armenian Patriarchate and the Grand Rabbinate. Public opinion could not tolerate this continued existence under a Republican Government of such institutions which have acquired temporal privileges entirely foreign to their religious character." The Times (London), May 6, 1924, p. 13

col. 3.

observed the pledges given at Lausanne and Gregorios "achieved the feat, equalled by few of his predecessors in his holy office, of dying in harness." 23 Gregorios died on November 16, 1924, and on December 17, Mgr. Constantine VI Arapoghlu was elected to succeed him.

III

The question which deserves consideration now is, whether the Ecumenical Patriarchate has any international status, or if, constituted as it is by its very nature as an entity devoid of all real and effective political authority, it can enjoy a primordial prerogative of an institution of international interest.

The interest of the Great Powers for the protection of the Christian subjects in the Ottoman Empire was expressed in various bilateral or multilateral treaties of those Powers with Turkey. But until the eighteenth century those treaties did not provide a strong guarantee for the Christians.²⁴ But from 1740, treaty rights arising from capitulations were made perpetual, and hence, were not subject to further modification by succeeding Sultans. An important example was the treaty of Kutschuk-Kainardji, of July 16, 1774. Under Article 7 of this treaty, the Sublime Porte "promises to protect constantly the Christian religion and churches and allow the ministers of Russia at Constantinople to make representation on their behalf." 25 This most important provision gave to Russia for the first time a preferential right of protection of Christian "rayas," not conceded to any other Christian Power and a right of intervention on behalf of all the Christian population, which in effect amounted to a right of interference in the domestic affairs of the Ottoman Empire.²⁶

²⁶ "De là," as M. Sorel says, "pour la Russie l'obligation de s'immiscer dans les affaires interieures de la Turquie, chaque fois que les interêets des chretiens l'exige." Sorel, La Question d'Orient au XVIII^o Siècle 262 (1889).

^{23 2} Survey, op. cit. supra at 269. In 472 years, 105 Patriarchs had been deposed by the Porte, twenty-seven forced to abdicate, and others imprisoned, beheaded, strangled, or hanged. Only about ten had died natural deaths in the Phanar. Id. at note 2.

²⁴ The Turkish theory was that a treaty could be in force only during the life of the Sultan who signed it, as a kind of modus vivendi or temporary truce with unbelievers (soulh).

²⁵ Hertslet, 3 The Map of Europe by Treaty 2011 (1875).

Obviously Article 7 deals with the Christians of the Orthodox rite, because Christians of the Catholic rite were already under the protection of France and Austria, by the Capitulations that the Sultan had granted them, or by the treaties concluded between the Sublime Porte and those Powers. Protestants were also under the effective protectorate of the Protestant Powers (England, Prussia, United Netherlands). It was in that sense that Russia construed the stipulation of Article 7. See C. L. Papadopoulos, "Les Privilèges du Patriarchat Oecuménique." Thèse pour le Doctorat 141 (1924).

Russia never in the future, up until the middle of the nineteenth century, failed to call for the implementation of these provisions.²⁷ Her intervention for such an enforcement became its fixed diplomatic policy with rather useful results for her beneficiaries, but not always free of political pursuances and selfishness. The Sultan, conscious sometimes of the inferiority of his military force, temporarily recognized the right for the Russian ambassador to intervene on their behalf. At any rate the Ecumenical Patriarchate became the most authentic representative Christian authority in the Ottoman Empire, the center of a great antagonism among the Great Powers and the field of a struggle for uncovered or conflicting pursuits. Protection of Christian minorities by the Great Powers, mistreatment of those minorities by Turks, keen political interest of Russia for the capture of Constantinople, and especially of the throne of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, and rivalry of England and other powers towards Russia, all these facts had a great influence on the Ecumenical Patriarchate which had to suffer or benefit depending on the particular situation.28

The Law of Hatt-i Hűmayűn and the Subsequent Treaties

Under the law of Hatt-i Hűmayűn ²⁰ of February 18, 1856, the relations between Church and State were regulated ³⁰ and a promise of an international character was given by Turkey. The promise given by the Sublime Porte, to respect the privileges of the Christians, was officially communicated by her to the Great Powers. Thus, under this law and the Treaty of Paris of the same year, the privileges of the Christians in Tur-

²⁷ This right of Russia to be considered as protector of the Orthodox Church, was also recognized in the treaties of Ainali-Konak of 1779; Jassy of 1792; Bucharest of 1812; Adrianople of 1829.

²⁸ Beginning with the treaty of Kutschuk Kainardji, Turkey had made numerous treaties with European powers in which she agreed to respect the rights of Christian minorities and to allow a certain amount of supervision by the powers to secure this end, but she has blithely violated every one of the treaties, generally when the jealousies of the powers were strong enough to prevent joint or individual action for the protection of these minorities. Thomas, *One Hundred Years of the Monroe Doctrine* 490 (1923).

²⁹ For the text of the law see Hertslet, 2 The Map of Europe by Treaty 1243-49 (1875); also Von Pischon, Die Verfassung der griechisch-orthodoxen Kirche in der Türkei, Ein Beitrag zu der neuen Kirchengeschichte des Orients: in Studien und Kritiken pars. 272-273 (1864).

³⁰ This law established for the first time the system of the mixed civil (not religious) courts, consisting of Christians and Moslems, in which, contrary to the practice until that time, Christians were allowed as witnesses. They were sworn in accordance with their religion.

key became a subject of international interest and character. Moreover, during the period following the Treaty of Paris, Christian Europe often intervened in the domestic affairs of Turkey, using as a pretext the protection of Christian minorities. This incessant intervention of the European countries and the repeated assurances of protection by Turkey had created a customary international European law for the protection of those minorities⁸¹.

Five years after the Hatt-i Hűmayűn, in 1861, there was issued a Vezirial Circular recalling to the local authorities the principles governing the rules of successions among Christians, and containing a paragraph, the faulty drafting of which was the cause of subsequent controversy, regarding their rights of testamentary disposition.³² In the year 1862, an important law regulating the privileges of the Orthodox community was promulgated in spite of repeated protests from the Patriarchate. This statute having been looked upon with disfavor by the Patriarchate from the very beginning, no attempt ever was made by the Patriarch to further its objectives. The statute, designed to be a measure of secularization, created a Mixed Council composed of four Metropolitans and eight lay representatives with jurisdiction to try questions relating to successions referred to it by the parties and authority to decide the validity of wills. But matters such as marriage, divorce, alimony, and those relating to the discipline of the clergy, were left to the exclusive jurisdiction of the Patriarch in Synod, a purely clerical tribunal.88

After the Hatt-i Hűmayűn was passed, the Ecumenical Patriarchate was continually reorganized to keep in harmony with the pace of the new developments which were going on in Turkey. The next stage of reorganization of the Patriarchate came in 1908. In that year the Patriarchate was deprived of its capacity to represent the Orthodox Christian elements in Turkey to the Government of Sultan.³⁴ Subsequently the Convention of Lausanne circumscribed the powers of the Patri

³¹ Eleftheriades, op. cit. supra note 9, at 211.

³² Bertram, op. cit. supra at 137.

³⁸ At one time the Patriarch had undoubtedly a certain limited criminal jurisdiction, not only over his clergy, but even over lay members of his communion. What was the extent of this jurisdiction and how it originated is not easy to say. With the law of 1862 it finally disappeared. While it survived, the Patriarch executed his own judgments and maintained his own prison.

³⁴ After the adoption of the second Constitution of Turkey in 1909, some of the so-called Young Turks upheld the assimilation of the minorities within Turkey. The confusion and persecution of Christians which followed led to the Balkan war.

archate to religious matters, with the only exception of matters relating to marriage and divorce. But the introduction of a system of civil marriage in Turkey on October 6, 1926, ultimately displaced even that last vestige of its political and judicial powers. Today it fulfills its purpose as a purely religious institution.

But in any attempt to define the status of the Patriarchate, it would be proper to take into consideration some of the important international treaties which followed the Treaty of Paris, such as the two protocols of London and the Treaty of Berlin. Under those treaties Turkey was clearly obliged to protect its Christian subjects, and the whole relation between her and its Christian minorities and the other Powers was based on the principles of the international law, as developed in the nine-teenth and twentieth centuries.⁸⁵

In the Treaty of Berlin of July 13, 1878, Turkey gave new and fresh assurances for the protection of non-Moslem religion in her territory. Art. 62 of the treaty provides that "The Sublime Porte having expressed the intention to maintain the principle of religious liberty (See Hatt-i Hümayüm, p. 19 et seq. supra) and give it the widest scope, the contracting parties take note of this spontaneous declaration. . . . The freedom and outward exercise of all forms of worship are assured to all, and no hindrance shall be offered either to the hierarchical organization of the various communions or to their relations with their spiritual chiefs." Hertslet, 4 The Map of Europe by Treaty 2796-7 (1891). Finally, Turkey undertakes in the same treaty to maintain all the provisions of the Treaty of Paris of 1856 and the Treaty of London of 1871, if they are not abrogated by the stipulations of the present treaty (Art. 63). Id. at 2798.

³⁵ The protocol of London of January 7, 1871, signed by the representatives of Germany, Austria-Hungary, Great Britain, Italy, Russia, and Turkey, contained the following provision: "It is an essential principle of international law that no power can absolve itself from the obligations of a treaty, nor modify its stipulations, except in pursuance of the assent of the contracting parties by virtue of an amicable agreement." Ravndal, The Origin of the Capitulations and of the Consular Institution 49 (1921). The protocol is significant in view of the provision of the Koran which permits a true believer to release himself from contracts with a non-Moslem even without notice. In another protocol signed at London in March 31, 1877, the Great Powers informed Turkey that "if the condition of the Christian subjects of the Sultan should not be improved . . . they think it right to declare that such a state of affairs would be incompatible with their interests and those of Europe in general. In such cases they reserve to themselves to consider in common as to the means which they may deem best fitted to secure the well-being of the Christian populations, and the interests of the general peace." The Duke of Argyll, 1 The Eastern Question 398 (1879). We can clearly see in the wording of the above provision the kind of responsibility that the Great Powers undertook, and which is quite similar to the broad responsibilities of the League of Nations and the United Nations, where the protection of religious minorities falls into the framework of the system devised for the maintenance of the peace and security of the world.

Following the first world war the treaty of peace between the Allied Powers and Turkey was signed at Sèvres, on August 10, 1920.³⁶ That treaty contained particularly heavy terms for Turkey and especially strict provisions regarding the protection of the minorities.³⁷ But the Allies had been prepared to make concessions ever since the failure of the Treaty of Sèvres first became apparent. In March, 1922, the ministers of the Allied Powers at Paris had proposed substantial departures from the Treaty of Sèvres in a note that was almost apologetic in tone. Two great objectives were, however, retained — protection of Christian minorities and freedom of the straits. Finally during the peace negotiations in 1922-23, there was suggested, among other things, the protection of religious and racial minorities in Turkey. While the protection of minorities was viewed favorably, unalterable opposition to the traditional policy of the capitulations was declared and upon this rock the conference broke.

IV

The question of the Ecumenical Patriarchate was dramatically raised at the Peace Conference of Lausanne. The retention of the seat of the Patriarchate in Constantinople was the subject of a lengthy and interesting discussion in the sub-commission on Exchange of Populations.³⁸ The main stumbling block for the progress of the negotiations during the Lausanne Conference was the insistence of Turkey that the Patriarchate must be removed from Turkey. This move by Turkey naturally met with great opposition from all the delegations. The British were mindful of the repercussions such a drastic measure would have in the entire Christian world. They maintained that apart from wounding the religious sentiments, especially of the Orthodox, such removal would be likely to produce a most painful impression in England and elsewhere.³⁹

³⁶ For the text see 15 A.T.I.L. 179-295 (suppl. 1921).

³⁷ The provisions of the treaty were drawn up by the Allies and signed by the Turkish representatives, but never ratified by the Parliament. The treaty provides for religious freedom, but this provision had not the saving clause regarding "public order and public morals." The penalties for any interference with religious freedom were to be "The same whatever may be the creed concerned" (Art. 141). The prerogatives and immunities granted by the Sultans to racial minorities were to be respected, and any abrogations by the new government were to be null and void. (Art. 149).

³⁸ The Sub-Committee met on December 2, 1922, under the presidency of Mr. Montagna of Italy. See Lausanne Conference, 1 Turkey, *CMD*, No. 1814 at 328-337 (1923).

³⁹ Id. at 333.

The delegate from France was not less vociferous in his protests. The removal of the Patriarch, the French delegate said, would leave the entire Orthodox community without its spiritual leader, since he is also Archbishop of Constantinople.⁴⁰ The United States delegate pointed out the formidable public opinion in America in favor of the retention of the Ecumenical Patriarchate.⁴¹

The Turkish delegation 42 presented to the Sub-Commission a written declaration in which it was maintained, among other things, that the clergy and its hierarchical leader must not in the future concern themselves with any but purely spiritual matters. They also maintained that the Patriarchate must be transferred to some place outside the frontiers of Turkey. They further questioned the raison d'être of the institution, since, according to them, it had always been a political organ, and such an organ, they maintained, ceased to exist, when the political privileges which it formally enjoyed and the organic institutions which depended on it have been abolished.48 The same delegation at another meeting of the Sub-Commission alleged that the Patriarchate had constantly indulged and would continue to indulge in political activities, and it, therefore, demanded its removal from Constantinople. They further alleged that the hostile contact of the Patriarchate during the last war convinced them beyond doubt that its continuance in Constantinople would only lead to further disturbances. They suggested as a solution the transfer of the Patriarchate to Mount Athos, 44 where it could exercise its spiritual influence over the Orthodox world.45

The participation by Greece in any agreement for removal of the Patriarchate, the Greek delegation thought, would not have any legal basis, since the institution in question was Turkish and not Greek. 46 The Greek delegation pointed out the legal basis of the claim of the Greeks in Turkey, apart from religion and sentimental considerations. The recognition of the rights of the Greeks dated back to the earliest times — a recognition in effect of the fundamental religious difference between the victor and the vanquished. Since Sheriat law, an exclusively Moslem religious law, could not be made applicable to the Christian, the Sultan recognized the legal right of the Christians to be governed by their own Canonical law, under the spiritual leadership of

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Meeting of December 16, 1922.

⁴⁸ CMD at 333 op. cit. supra.

⁴⁴ Monastery in Greece.

⁴⁵ CMD at 336 op. cit. supra.

⁴⁶ Id. at 333.

the Ecumenical Patriarch who alone has the divine authority (jure canonico et facto) to administer such laws. Furthermore, the Patriarchate, whose historic seat was Constantinople,⁴⁷ had been set up by the decrees of the second and fourth Ecumenical Councils, which formed the basis of the Canonical law of all Churches. It was also irremovable, and only the Ecumenical Council would give a decision on its maintenance or removal. The decisions, therefore, of a political conference in such matters could have no legal effect.⁴⁸ Finally, the delegation of the United States expressed the desire shown by a great part of American public opinion in favor of the retention of the Ecumenical Patriarchate at Constantinople⁴⁹ and associated themselves with the British viewpoint.⁵⁰

The Sub-Commission failed to bring about any measure of agreement between the two powers on this question, and invited the earnest attention of the Commission to this regrettable fact.

Commission and the Patriarchate

The Territorial and Military Commission discussed the question of the Ecumenical Patriarchate at its meeting of January 10, 1923.⁵¹ Lord

⁴⁷ Whether the seat of the Patriarchate was at Constantinople or not, the same delegate pointed out, to the Orthodox world the Patriarch would always be considered as the Archbishop of Constantinople. He also, till the proclamation of the Constitution (it was adopted on April 20, 1924), was the head of the Greek nation in Turkey, and, his powers having been confirmed by the Berats given by the Turkish Government, he held the rank of vizier in the hierarchy of the officials of the State. He finally must be of Turkish nationality. It may be pointed out that the last-mentioned requirement exists even today.

⁴⁸ CMD at 334 op. cit. supra.

⁴⁹ Id. at 333.

⁵⁰ The British delegation read the following declaration at the meeting of December 3, 1922: "... I have received his Lordship's formal instructions to declare once more that he could not agree to any proposal aiming at the removal of the Ecumenical Patriarchate from Constantinople... It would be unjust to prejudice in any way the rights and the purely spiritual jurisdiction which belong to the Ecumenical Patriarch as primate of the Orthodox Churches and as head of the Orthodox Church in Turkey." *Id.* at 335.

⁵¹ Lord Gurzon was in the chair. Speaking to the Commission he said: "... We had a very strong pronouncement from the chief American delegate, showing far away in the United States great importance is attached to this question. Since I have been here I have been overwhelmed every day with letters and telegrams from all sorts of people all over the world, but none of them are more frequent or more full of profound feeling and conviction than those which I receive about the Patriarchate." Id. at 319.

Gurzon, the chairman, proposed ⁵² that this institution would remain in Constantinople deprived in the future of its political and administrative character and remaining a purely religious institution. Thus there would not be any reason for the Turkish delegation to fear that the Patriarchate would use its powers for political purposes. ⁵⁸

Mr. Diamandy of Roumania reminded the Commission that the Roumanian Church, being independent and autocephalous, was connected with the Ecumenical Patriarchate by spiritual bonds only. He also pointed out that the religious conscience of the Roumanian people would be wounded if arbitrary methods were employed against the Patriarchate, which had been established at Constantinople for centuries.⁵⁴

Mr. Rakitch of Yugoslavia pointed out that this institution had always played a most important part in the moral development of a certain portion of the human race. To many generations the Patriarchate had given guidance and assistance in matters of Christian morality in daily life. Its removal would create a great moral void and it would stir the conscience of people of all religions. It would leave the blemish on the Turkish state to be the only one in the world to deny a proper place to a venerable Christian institution dating back many centuries with an uninterrupted record of activity in the cause of civilization and moral beneficence, even in the remote times of intolerance and religious persecution. 55

Mr. Veniselos of Greece, in reply to the argument of the Turkish delegation that the Patriarchate would always exercise political activity, pointed out that the institution in question had existed side by side with the Ottoman Empire for five centuries, and that this was the first occasion on which the Turkish Government had found cause to complain of its action.⁵⁶ As to the political privileges of the Patriarchate, he agreed

⁵² The heads of the French, Roumanian, Yugoslavian, and Greek delegations profoundly agreed with his proposal. *Id.* at 319-328.

⁵³ Id. at 319.

⁵⁴ Id. at 320.

⁵⁵ Id. at 321.

⁵⁶ There were occasions when the Patriarchate stood with the Ottoman Empire against Russia and other Powers. This fact is indicated by many diplomatic documents and correspondences. Mr. Stramankoff, at the head of the Foreign Office of St. Petersburg, in a letter to Navikow, Russian Ambassador at Vienna, dated December 20, 1872, said: "You have no doubt learnt the last decision as to the sequestration of the property belonging to the Church of Jerusalem: although rather late in the day, this measure will be none the less a good lesson to our religious opponents. The Greeks, let us hope, will understand the utter madness of their attacks upon Russia and the Bulgarians, particularly when they see

upon their abolishment, pointing out that it was the Turkish Government itself that had once considered it desirable to grant the rights and privileges which were not at issue. It was up to the Turkish Government alone to deprive the Patriarch of his political authority as the head of the Greek nation, and to abrogate all provisions in the law giving the Patriarch political powers.⁵⁷ Mr. Veniselos, furthermore, reminded the Commission that the demand of the Turkish delegation went beyond the terms of the Angora Pact, which recognized that the non-Moslem minorities were entitled to the same guarantees as those granted to minorities by the European treaties. The Turkish Government, in its reply to the note from the Allied Governments of the September 23, 1922, had moreover once more undertaken to give these guarantees to the non-Moslem minorities. This was one of the conditions on which the Greek Government had consented to evacuate Eastern Thrace in favor of Turkey.⁵⁸

Ismet Pasha ⁵⁹ of Turkey made reference before the Commission to the assurances given by the Allied and Greek delegations that the Patriarchate would refrain from activities of a political or administrative character, and would confine itself to purely religious activities. "With a view of giving a supreme proof of the conciliatory disposition of the delegation over which he presided, Ismet Pasha withdrew this proposal under the conditions just stated by him, and in reliance on the assurances of which he had already taken note." ⁶⁰ Lord Gurzon, the Chairman of the Commission, was certain that the Commission would have received

58 CMD at 324 op. cit. supra.

59 He is identical with Ismet Inonu, the later President of the Turkish Re-

public.

"This concession is probably part of the price paid for yesterday's surrender of the Allies in the minorities controversy. . . . Americans may feel satisfaction

the throne of the Ecumenical Patriarch, in whom they take so much pride, dependent upon the good will of a man like Khalil, who incites them against us in order the better to indulge his own animosity." Lord Montagu, Foreign Policy: England and the Eastern Question 143 (1877). General Ignatieu, Russian Ambassador at Constantinople, writing to the Russian Ambassador at Vienna emphasized: "... It is certainly true that the fanatics of the Patriarchate make the task that he has undertaken very easy.... I have written lately to our Consuls to withdraw all subsidies and assistance to Greek churches and schools. Perhaps by this means their eyes will be opened." Id. at 151.

⁵⁷ E.g. Those provisions in the law of vilayets which made the Patriarch a member ex officio of certain councils; or those in the electoral law which conferred on him the right to supervise the drawing up of electoral lists.

⁶⁰ CMD at 327 op. cit. supra. The way to this concession was paved by the return of Hassan Bey, a prominent member of the Turkish delegation, who had been sent back to Ankara for definite instructions, bearing authority to make concessions on this and other points.

with great satisfaction the intimation contained in Ismet Pasha's last sentence, that the Turkish delegation "renounced the project of requiring the departure of the Patriarch from Constantinople." ⁶¹

This renunciation by Turkey might not be binding on her under international law, if it is considered as the only basis for the Patriarchate's retention in Constantinople. But this renunciation is simply a fresh recognition of a previously existing situation according to which Turkey is obliged to retain the Patriarchate there under a series of international agreements with other Powers, under the general rules of International Law concerning the protection of minorities, and under her own national laws and Constitution. This obligation would have to be maintained with or without the above renunciation.

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because the Greek Patriarch remains in Constantinople." N. Y. Times, January 11, 1923, p. 1, col. 3.

Therefore the storm of protest from all over the world for the desired removal of the Ecumenical Patriarchate which, it was contended, would be like the expulsion of the Pope from Rome, gave the conference initiative to force the Turks to yield on that point. Lane, "Why Greeks and Turks Oppose Being Exchanged," 18 Current History 89 (April-September 1923).

61 CMD at 327 op. cit. supra.



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METHODISM AND BISHOP ERASMUS

By THE VERY REV. GEORGE TSOUMAS

The relationship between John Wesley, the father of the doctrinal and practical Methodism, and Erasmus, who appeared in London in 1763 and claimed to be the Greek Bishop of Arcadia, Crete, is scarcely known outside Methodist circles — and even there it is not given prominence. This relationship constitutes a minor event in John Wesley's early and tumultuous life and has left little or no influence in the development of Methodism. Nevertheless, one thing stands out: Erasmus was not only accepted as a canonical Bishop of the Greek Orthodox Church, but also — and upon Wesley's request — "ordained" some of his preachers to Holy Orders.

This present study, however, purports to show that what the Methodist historians believed to be true for almost two hundred years, is an error. The fact is that Erasmus was not a canonical Bishop of the Greek Orthodox Church, a conclusion that is reached after consideration of certain important points: First, Erasmus shows total ignorance of the practice, custom, and canon law of the Church he is supposed to represent. Secondly, the certificate he gives to the ordinands differs in content from that of the Greek Orthodox Church of that period. Thirdly, his deplorable state — "being in dire need and ready to be thrown into prison" — contradicts the kindness, honors, and hospitality accorded to visiting Greek prelates by the English ecclesiastical and civil authorities and the Greek people living in London during this and the previous periods. And fourthly, his name is not found in the catalogues of Bishops of Crete. Before, however, developing these points, it is necessary to present the events leading to the relationship between John Wesley and Erasmus.

The year 1763 stands out as a crucial one for early Methodism. John Wesley had been left alone in London to administer to the spiritual needs of his ever-growing Methodist Societies. His brother,

¹ The beginnings of Methodism passed through three stages: the first at Oxford, November, 1729; the second at Savannah, Georgia, April, 1736; and the third at London, May 1, 1738, which was completed in July, 1740, *Journal of the Rev. John Wesley, M.A.*, edited by Nehemiah Curnock (London: The Epworth Press, 1938) I, 198, n. 1. See also *Ibid.*, I, 197, 458 ff.; II, 262, 314.

Charles Wesley, who had been his assistant in all matters, had retired to a comparative seclusion since 1757.² His other minister-colleagues had either died or were disabled or obliged to relinquish the itinerant ministry. Furthermore, the lay preachers³ whom Wesley "set apart" since 1752 to help him preach the gospel to the masses were becoming bolder in their demands to administer the Sacraments to the Wesleyans with or without ordination. The Bishops of the Established Church refused to ordain "these unlettered" men. Therefore, some of them proceeded to act as Ministers without ordination.

John Wesley understood the seriousness of the situation. He had to act to save his Societies from extinction, but how, he knew not. He was only a Presbyter of the Church and therefore could not ordain. In this difficult state, he happened to read a book which altered his views on ecclesiastical polity, thus solving his problem. One day in January, 1746, on the way to Bristol, he read over Lord King's Account of the Primitive Church. "In spite of the vehement prejudice of my education," Wesley records in his Journal, "I was ready to believe that this was a fair draught; but if so, it would follow that Bishops and Presbyters are (essentially) of one order, and that originally every Christian congregation was a Church independent of all others." Ten years later

² Ibid., V, 47, n. 2.

³ Wesley authorized his preachers with these words: "Take thou authority to preach the gospel." Nevertheless, it was not considred an ordination, and the preachers did not accept it as such. John Simon, "Wesley's Ordinations" in the *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society* (September, 1914), IX, 146.

⁴ Peter King was born in 1669 of a dissenting family. He was educated in the Calvinistic University of Leyten. His father was a baker but his uncle was John Locke. Peter had an interest in early history of the Church, and in 1691, while only 22 years old, wrote his *Inquiry*. Later he served in the parliament and published a second edition of his work in two parts. *Dictionary of National Biography*, XI, 144.

b Journal, op. cit., III, 232. The Inquiry is composed of ten chapters, and was written to lessen the tension that existed during the 17th century between the Congregationalists, the Presbyterians, and the Anglicans, each one of whom maintained that their form of church government was upheld by the primitive church of the first three-hundred years. And justifiably it has been likened to a crystal ball in which each of these churches sees in it its own church government. The fourth chapter, in particular, showed Wesley that Bishops and Presbyters are but one order, differing only in degree. King argues his thesis by pointing out that with the Bishop's permission the Presbyter discharged all the functions of the Bishop; that they were called by the same titles; and that they were said to be of the same order. The Presbyter preached, presided in church consistories, excommunicated, returned penitents, confirmed and even ordained. Little is said of the Presbyter's ordaining; yet, "as little as there is, there are clearer proofs of the Presbyters ordaining than there are of their administering the Lord's Supper." King quotes Cyprian's 75th epistle, and others (Tertullian, Clement of Alexan-

he read Bishop Stillingfleet's *Irenicum* which further convinced him that the episcopal form of government is not prescribed in Scripture by Christ and the Apostles, nor any form of church government,⁶ and therefore (reasoned Wesley) he had "as good right to ordain as to administer the Lord's Supper," being a "Scriptural Episcopos." 8

In spite of the conviction that he was a Bishop, and therefore had every right to ordain, Wesley restrained himself at this stage. Later, however, he saw reasons and used the right. In the year 1763, he found a temporary solution in the person of Erasmus, whom he found in London and who called himself the Greek Bishop of Arcadia, Crete.

John Wesley informs us that he met Erasmus in London in dire need. "A year ago," he writes to the printer of St. James Chronicle, "I found a stranger perishing from want and expecting to be thrown in

dria). The truth of the matter is that Wesley read what concerned him and ignored that particular statement of King which said that the Presbyter discharged his priestly duties only "... by permission of the Bishop." If, then, Wesley considered himself a "Scriptural Episcopos" still he required the permission of his Bishop to ordain, which he never had. See an exhaustive criticism of the Inquiry by William Sclatter in his work, An original draught of the Primitive Church ... to a discourse entitled an Inquiry (London: Stratan, 1717). Another one attacked the Inquiry: An impartial view and censure of the Mistakes propagated for the ordaining power of the Presbyters in a late book entitled Inquiry. The author is unknown, and even the date of publication, which Mrs. J. Gurnett, assistant in the Rare Book Department of the Boston Public Library, places in the year 1718. It is extraordinary that Wesley ignored these refutations by the Inquiry, and it is also important that Lord King recanted his views expressed in the Inquiry.

⁶ Letters of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M., edited by John Tilford (London: The Epworth Press, 1938), III, 182. The Irenicum is composed of two parts. The first part has eight chapters, and the second, seven chapters. It is a more powerful work than Lord King's Inquiry and well-documented. It was written when the author was 25 years of age. Later he, too, retracted his views in a Sermon Preached at a Publick Ordination at St. Peter's Cornhill, March 15, 1685. "It is commendable," concludes Stillingfleet in this sermon, "piece of ingenuity in any person to retreat former opinions upon full conviction." Ibid., 2.

⁷ Tyerman, op. cit., III, 430.

⁸ Ibid., 445.

of Independence, Wesley "set apart" Coke "as a Superintendent of the work in America." Tyerman, op. cit., III, 433. Further, he appointed two more, Mr. Whatcoat and Mr. Vasey. "to go and serve the desolate sheep in America." Journal, op. cit., VII, 15. Although he avoids using the term "ordain" in his Journal, he does so in his Diary; cf. Diary Sept. 1: "Prayed, ordained R. Whatcoat and T. Vasey." Sept. 2: "Prayed, ordained Dr. Coke (as Superintendent) by the imposition of my hands . . . (being assisted by other ordained ministers)." Loc. cit. Coke was a Presbyter of the Church of England like Wesley.

prison. He told me he was a Greek Bishop. I examined his credentials and was fully satisfied. After much conversation in Greek and Latin (he spoke no English at all) I determined to relieve him effectively which I did without delay and promised to send him back to Amsterdam, where he had several friends of his nation. This I did . . . upon motives of humanity." 10

Being convinced, then, that Erasmus was a canonical Bishop of the Greek Church, according to his credentials and testimony of other gentlemen in London "who had known him in Turkey and were ready to attest to his episcopal character," 11 Wesley requested him to ordain to Holy Orders some of his preachers. Erasmus obliged and ordained John Jones, 12 Samson Staniforth, Thomas Bryant, Alexander Mather, and others. From Staniforth it is learned that Wesley sent for him at his home. "... The messenger," states Staniforth in his Journal, "told me that he wanted to speak to me and I must come immediately. When I came I found the Grecian Bishop with him who ordained me and three others. But finding it would offend my brethren, I have never availed myself of this to this hour." 13

The news soon circulated that Wesley's preachers had received ordination from the hands of a Bishop of the Greek Church. As was natural many flocked to him for ordination. How many he ordained will probably never be known because the ordinations were performed secretly and were kept so by many of the ordinands. It is known that he ordained, besides those already mentioned, a Baptist minister,14 three tradesmen, a master baker, 15 a Lawrence Coughland, who had no learning. 16 and six other Wesleyan preachers. Since they were ordained without Wesley's knowledge, they were punished by exclusion from the Societies. 17 Later, Erasmus was recalled from Amsterdam by other per-

¹⁰ Letters, op. cit., III, 136.

¹¹ Tyerman, op. cit., II, 486. It is stated elsewhere that Erasmus had been driven from his see by the Turks because he baptized a Musulman into the faith of Christ. John Whitehead, The Life of Rev. John Wesley (Philadelphia: William S. Stockton, 1845), II, 291.

¹² Jones was authorized to inquire about Erasmus from "the Patriarch of Smyrna," (Metropolitan is more correct), from whom it is said that he received a favorable answer. Letters, op. cit., IV, 289.

¹⁸ W. W. Fichett, Wesley and His Century (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1906), p. 363; Tyerman, op. cit., II, 487.

14 Journal, op. cit., V, 47, n. 2.

¹⁵ Tyerman, op. cit., II, 486.

¹⁶ Letters, op. cit., V, 290.

¹⁷ Wesley gave two reasons for the invalidity of their ordination: it was performed in a language which the ordinands did not understand; and they had given money (five guineas). Ibid., 291.

sons to give ordination to a Mr. S——t and "three other persons, as unlearned as any of the apostles, but I believe [writes Wesley] not so much inspired." ¹⁸

To the ordinands, Erasmus gave a letter of recommendation, a translation of which is given by one of John Wesley's bitterest enemies: 19

"Our measure from the grace, gift and power of the Allholy and Life-giving Spirit, given by our Saviour Jesus Christ to His Divine and holy apostles, to ordain subdeacons and deacons; and also to advance to the dignity of a priest; of this grace which hath descended to our humility, I have ordained subdeacon and deacon, at Snowfields Chapel, on the 19th day of November, 1764, and at Wells Street Chapel on the 24th of the same month, priest the reverend Mr. W. C. (William Crabb) according to the rules of the holy apostles, and of our faith. Moreover, I have given to him the power to minister and teach, in all the world, the gospel of Jesus Christ, no one forbidding him in the church of God. Wherefore, for that very purpose, I have made this present letter of recommendation from our humility, and have given it to the ordained Mr. W. C. for his certificate and security. "Given and written at London, in Britain, November 24,

"Given and written at London, in Britain, November 24, 1764.

Erasmus, Bishop of Arcadia." 20

The ordinations by a foreign prelate provoked a furor among friends and enemies of John Wesley. Charles Wesley denounced them and refused to communicate with the newly ordained. Toplady accused Methodists, and especially John Wesley, that he had violated the oath of supremacy by appealing to foreign prelate and requesting him to ordain several of his preachers, who from this time on dressed as clergymen of the Church of England. Moreover, he published a letter in which he makes the insinuation in the way of question that John Wesley strongly pressed Erasmus to ordain him a Bishop,²¹ but the latter re-

¹⁸ Ibid., 290.

¹⁹ Augustus Montague Toplady was a former Methodist who later became an extreme Calvinist. The literary fight started when Wesley criticized the "elect." It did not end until Toplady's death in 1778. Two months before he expired, he said that he would not strike out a single line of what he had said against Wesley. *Dictionary of National Biography*, XIX, 984-986.

²⁰ Tyerman, op. cit., II, 487.

²¹ The term "consecration" is a western connotation indicative of the superiority of the episcopate over the presbyterate. Rev. G. E. Dolan, *The Distinction Between the Episcopate and the Presbyterate According to Thomistic Opinion* (The Catholic University of America Studies in Sacred Theology, No. 36; Wash-

fused because, according to the canons of the Greek Church, more than one Bishop must be present to assist in the ordination of a new one.²² This insinuation was quickly denied by Thomas Olivers, one of Wesley's preachers, with the latter's consent, if not at his request. "But," continues Olivers, "suppose he had, where would have been the blame? Mr. Wesley is connected with a number of persons who have given proof... that they have an inward call to preach the gospel. Both he and they would be glad if they had an outward call too. But no Bishop of England will give it to them. What wonder, then, if he was to endeavour to procure it by other innocent means." ²³

In spite of the formal denial, there were some who believed it. Rev. Samuel A. Peters, an Episcopal clergyman, calling himself bishop-elect of Vermont, wrote a letter dated May 11, 1809, in which he alleged that Wesley was ordained a Bishop by Erasmus, otherwise Dr. Samuel Seabury, bishop-elect of the Protestant Episcopal Church, would not have approached him for ordination, nor would he (Wesley) have acted autocratically from 1764.24 Dr. George Phoebus, in 1878, seeking to prove Wesley's elevation to the episcopate by Erasmus in reasoning that the former assumed sole government of the Methodist Societies, wrote a letter to all Evangelical clergymen in England with whom he desired to form a league, offensive and defensive. He asserted that all Methodists in Great Britain are under one Head, and considered he had the power of admitting and excluding members from the Societies under his care, of choosing and removing stewards, of receiving helpers and appointing them.²⁵ But is it necessary to explain Wesley's autocratic conduct from an ordination that he probably never received? If Seabury considered Wesley a Bishop, as Peters implies, why should Seabury state later quite emphatically that "Mr. Wesley is only a Presbyter, and all his ordinations Presbyterian, and in direct opposition to the

ington, D. C.: Catholic University Press, 1950), p. 81. Another probable explanation according to another Western writer is in the theological controversy which centers around the office of a Bishop. That is, it is still a question whether or not the episcopate is, in the strict sense of the word, an Order. Therefore, the indefinite term "consecration" is employed. G. Connell, "The Episcopate," The Ecclesiastical Review, 72, (April, 1925), 337. There exists no controversy in the Greek Orthodox Church where the episcopate and presbyterate are distinct orders. Therefore, the term ordination (xequorovia) is used for the three orders.

²² Tyerman, op. cit., 488 cf. Canon 1 Apostles: «Ἐπίσκοπος χειφοτονείσθω ὑπὸ ἐπισκόπων δύο ἢ τριῶν.»

²³ Ibid., 489.

²⁴ George A. Phoebus, "Was Wesley Ordained a Bishop by Erasmus?" Methodist Quarterly Review, 1878, IX, 88-90.

²⁵ Ibid., 98-100.

Church of England"? ²⁶ Peters's letter is either a forgery, or, as it has been alleged, "it is another illustration of Samuel Peters's vivid imagination, of which the first was his book on the *History of Connecticut*, a book of exaggerations and lies." ²⁷ Wesley's denial through Olivers is sufficient proof that he was not ordained a Bishop by Erasmus or anyone else. His actions, irregular and inconsistent as they may be, can be explained by remembering that Wesley considered himself providentially endowed and preserved ²⁸ for the mission he had in life: to preach his gospel "that all men out of Christ are lost sinners, that salvation can be had instantly by faith, and that it can be infallibly attested in the soul by the witness of the Spirit." ²⁹

But if Wesley's ordination to the episcopate is not actual or most improbable, the ordinations of Erasmus are considered *fait accompli*. There still remains, however, the question of the authenticity of Erasmus as a Greek Bishop and the canonicity of his acts from the practice and Canon Law of the Greek Orthodox Church.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, the whole Eastern Orthodox Church was on guard in its relation with the Protestants. The correspondence of Jeremiah II, Patriarch of Constantinople (1572-1579; 1580-1584; 1586-1595) and the Tübingen Theologians³⁰ brought forth the doctrinal differences separating the two. The confession, however, of Patriarch of Constantinople Cyril Lucar (1620-1623; 1623-1633; 1633-1634; 1634-1635; 1637-1638) provoked such a furor that many synods were convoked to condemn it,³¹ and two Orthodox confessions³² were written to safeguard the Orthodox people from the "heretical Protestants." Even the Non-Jurors, who reguarded themselves as "the Catholick Remnant in Brittain," were also termed in their correspondence with the Eastern Orthodox Church (1716-1725) as "Luthero-

²⁶ Whitehead, op. cit., citing Dr. Beardsley, "Life and Correspondence of Seabury," 227 ff.

²⁷ John A. Faulkner, Wesley as a Sociologist, Theologian, Churchman (New York: The Methodist Book Concern, 1918), pp. 144-145.

²⁸ From fire, drowning, serious injury, shipwreck, mobs, and other such calamities. *Journal*, op. cst., VIII (for the references to providence interpositions), 443.

²⁹ John A. Faulkner, *The Methodists* (New York: Eaton & Main, 1913), 15.

³⁰ John Karmiris, Τὰ Δογματικὰ καὶ Συμβολικὰ Μνημεῖα τῆς 'Ορθοδόξου Καθολικῆς 'Εκκλησίας (Athens, 1952-1953), I, 369 ff.; II, 435 ff.

³¹ Constantinople (1638, 1642, 1672), Jassy (1642), Jerusalem (1672). *Ibid.*, II, 562 ff.

³² Peter of Mogila, and Doritheus, Patriarch of Jerusalem. Cf. *Ibid.*, II, 582-686; 734-773.

Calvinists" who had to "submit with sincerity and obedience, and without scruple or dispute" to the Orthodox Church.

It is incredible to suppose that a canonical Bishop of the Greek Orthodox Church would appear in London in 1763, and, disregarding the relations of his Church and the Protestants up to that period, proceed to ordain to Holy Orders "Luthero-Calvinists." By what authority could he perform them? What past and later practice of his Church and ecclesiastical law gave him this right?

It is true that the Orthodox Church had accepted in the past as canonical the sacraments of some schismatics and even heretics while rejecting others.³⁴ But this was not the decision of an individual Bishop. It was the work of the Ecumenical or local synods. A Bishop is the highest ecclesiastical authority in his province, second to none. But he never acts arbitrarily, especially in matters of doctrine and canon law. His actions are regulated by canonical definitions which are contained in the Apostolic Constitutions, the Ecumenical and Local Synods, the writings of some Church Fathers, and the practice and custom of the Church.

These canonical definitions specify that a candidate for Holy Orders be an Orthodox Christian of irreproachable faith, not recently converted;³⁵ that the ordination take place in Church,³⁶ during the Divine Liturgy and in the presence of the people,³⁷ and not in secret places,

³³ J. H. Overton, *The Nonjurors* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1902), p. 464.

³⁴ See examples in Christos Androutsos, Δογματική (Athens: 1907), p. 393, n. 1. Cf. Frank Gavin, Some Aspects of Contemporary Greek Orthodox Thought (London: SPCK, 1936), pp. 265 ff.; A. P. Christofilopoulos, «Ἡ εἰς τὴν 'Ορθοδοξίαν προσέλευσις τῶν ἀλλοθρήσκων καὶ ἑτεροδόξων», ΘΕΟΛΟΓΙΑ (Athens: 1956), XXVII, April-June, 196-205; John Karmiris, "Ways of Accepting Non-Orthodox Christians in the Orthodox Church," Greek Theological Review (Brookline: 1954), I, 38-47.

⁸⁵ Canon 80, Apostles; Canon 2, I Nicae; Canon 17, Protodevtera; Canon 12, Neocasarea; Canon 10, Sardıca; Canon 3, Laodicae; Canon IV, Cyril Alexandria.

³⁶ Canon 5, Laodicae and interpretation by Zonaras. Ralli-Potli. Σύνταγμα (Athens: 1855), III, 175. Theodoret states that the ordination be performed during Divine Liturgy («τῆς μυστικῆς ἱερουργίας προκειμένης»), Ecclesiastical History, Chapter 17: Cf. Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History, VI, 13.

⁸⁷ Canon 7 of Theophilus of Alexandria and interpretation of Balsamon, Ralli-Potli, op. cit., IV, 347. Mesolara says: "All these things (i.e imposition of hands and prayer) as well as the whole service combined with the Holy Liturgy, without which ordination is not pefect, constitute the outward signs and form of it." Συμβολική τῆς 'Ορθοδόξου 'Ανατολικῆς 'Εκκλησίας (Athens: 1904), IV, 328-329. The congregation during the ordination expresses its consent by the "he is worthy" (ἄξιος) acclamation.

chambers, or chapels;³⁸ that simony is punishable by deposition and excommunication;³⁶ that a Bishop is forbidden to leave his diocese and enter another, except under certain circumstances,⁴⁰ and even then he cannot perform sacraments without the permission and consent of the local prelate;⁴¹ that a Bishop is prohibited to ordain one who has seceded from another Bishop,⁴² or to employ heretics as clergymen.⁴³

Erasmus, defying these canonical definitions and prohibitions, proceeded to ordain men whose faith was not Orthodox, men whose faith had been termed "heretical" and "Luthero-Calvinist" and who had seceded from their local bishops.⁴⁴ Furthermore, the ordinations were performed secretly and not in church and before the people, and received money for them.

It is obvious that a canonical Bishop of the Greek Orthodox Church would not have violated flagrantly the whole practice, custom and ecclesiastical laws of his church. The only conclusion is that Erasmus was not a Bishop of the Greek Orthodox Church.

³⁸ Canon 7 of Theophilus of Alexandria. Gregory Nazianzen accuses Maximus the Alexandrian before he was ordained secretly in χοραύλου λυτηρὸν οἰκητήριον. Socrates the historian relates that Ursinus who attempted to seize the episcopal throne of Rome was ordained uncanonically because the ordination took place in an apocryphal place. *Ecclesiastical History*, IV, 29.

⁸⁹ Canon 29, Apostles; Canon 2, Chalcedon; Canon 23, Quinisext; Canon 5, VII Nicae; Canon 20, Basil, and the epistle of Gennadios and Tarasios. Cf. John Panagopoulos, 'Η Σιμωνία κατά τὸ Δίκαιον τοῦ 'Ορθοδόξου (Athens: 1946), 57, n. 1.

⁴⁰ Canon 14, Apostles; Canon XX, Chalcedon.

⁴¹ Canon 16, I Nicae; Canon 5, Chalcedon; Canon XXI, Antioch.

⁴² Canon 16, I Nicae. Although Wesley felt that it was not expedient to separate from the Established Church, he instituted open-air preaching, societies and preachers, and ordained, acts which violated canon law and separated himself and the Methodists from the Established Church. The Methodists, further, refused to recognize the Ministers of the Church and refused to go to them for their spiritual needs. Tyerman, op. cit., II, 208. Cf. A. H. Harrison, The Separation of Methodism from the Church of England (London: The Epworth Press, 1945), p. 19. Wesley and his Methodists violated the Act of Toleration, Canon 49, 50, 54, of the Church of England. Cf. Sir W. G. F. Phillimore, The Ecclesiastical Laws of the Church of England, 2nd ed.; (London: Law Publishers, 1895.) I, 786, 787, 788. The Methodists were schismatics in the eyes of the Church Law of England, even if not called so.

⁴³ Canon 45, Apostles.

⁴⁴ Jeremiah II, and the Synod of Jerusalem, 1672. Philip Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom* (New York: Harper & Brothers), I, 62. When the Archbishop of Canterbury wrote to Patriarch Chrysanthos of Jerusalem that the Non-Jurors were a schismatic body, he terminated his correspondence with them. Overton, op. cit., pp. 464-465.

A comparison between the certificate alleged by Toplady to have been given by Erasmus to his ordinands, and those of the Greek Orthodox Church, brings forth the differences of which two are the important ones. In the first place, Erasmus does not state whether he has received confirmation of the worthiness of the ordinand. In the Greek Orthodox certificates and letters of recommendation it is expressly stated that the Bishop has examined everything pertaining to the ordinand and has received from his spiritual father, six priests, and other accredited gentlemen further confirmation of his worthiness.⁴⁵ In the second place, Erasmus gives authority and "power to administer and teach in all the world . . . no one forbidding him . . . in the Church of God." This reminds one of Wesley's statement that "the world is my parish." In the certificates of the Orthodox Church the deacon or priest is given the authority to exercise his deaconate or priestly duties unhindered but always "with the duly consent of the local bishop." ⁴⁶

Wesley found Erasmus in dire need and ready to be thrown into prison, and helped him, promising to send him to Amsterdam where he had some of his compatriots. But why did he have to go to Amsterdam for compatriots when there were some in London? And why did he not receive any financial aid from the English ecclesiastical and civil authorities that had honored previous Greek prelates? No other answer can be given, except that Erasmus was not a Greek Bishop.

Not only were there Greeks in London at the time of Erasmus, but a Greek Community had been established in London in 1677 and con tinued to exist throughout the eighteenth century.⁴⁷ In 1677, the Metropolitan of Samos, Joseph, arrived in London with the express purpose of printing an "Anthologion" for the use of the Orthodox Church. While there he found many Greek Orthodox and encouraged them to

^{45 «...} ἐρευνήσαντες τὰ περὶ τούτου ἀκριδῶς πάντα, καὶ μαθόντες παρὰ τοῦ πνευματικοῦ αὐτοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τῶν ἔξ Ἱερέων ... ὡς ἄξιος τοῦ τοιούτου βαθμοῦ, κεχειροτονήκαμεν ...» Letter of recommendation to a priest in the year 1627. Cf. Ralli-Potli, op. cit., V, 541; «... ἄτε δὴ μαρτυρηθεὶς παρὰ τοῦ ἰδίου αὐτοῦ πνευματικοῦ, καὶ ἄλλων ἀξιοπίστων ἀνδρῶν, τοῦ τοιούτου βαθμοῦ ἄξιος ...» Το a deacon, 1705, ibid., 542; «... κατὰ συμμαρτυρίαν τοῦ πνευματικοῦ αὐτοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ ἄλλων ἀξιοπίστων ἀνδρῶν ...» Το a Priest, 1864, Nikodimos-Agapios, Πηδάλιον, Athens, 1908, 724.

^{46 «...} ἀκωλύτως ἐπιτελεῖν (τὰ τῆς 'Ιερωσύνης), μετὰ καὶ τῆς κανονικῆς ἀδείας καὶ συναινέσεως τοῦ κατὰ τόπον 'Αρχιερέως ...» Loc. cit., «... ὅθεν δίδομεν αὐτῷ ἐξουσίαν, ὅπου ἄν ἀπέλθη, τὰ τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἀνεμποδίστως ἐπιτελεῖν, μετὰ τῆς προσηκούσης συναινέσεως τοῦ κατὰ τόπον ἀρχιερεύοντος ...» Ralli-Potli, op. cit., 543.

⁴⁷ Archimandrite Michael Constantinides (the present Archbishop of North and South America, Michael), *The Greek Orthodox Church in Lodon* (Oxford: University Press, 1933), p. xix.

erect a church building. This they did in 1677, in the district known as Soho.⁴⁸ But the Greeks left this district and settled in the city proper, and the church was rented to the authorities of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields Church.⁴⁹

Later, in the year 1712, there arrived in London another Greek prelate seeking financial help for the Patriarchate of Alexandria. The Greek Hierarch was the Metropolitan of Thebais Arsenius, who had brought with him the Archimandrite Gennadius, four deacons, one reader, and a cook.⁵⁰ The then reigning Queen Anne, through the Philhellene Bishop Henry Compton, presented two-hundred pounds for the needs of the Patriarchate of Alexandria.

The respect and honors accorded the Metropolitan are described by him in one of his many letters in which he writes: "During the three years in which I lived in England both I and my retinue walked about in our robes and they held us in great favour, both the civil authorities and the ecclesiastics." ⁵¹ That the Metropolitan was anxious to build a Greek church in London to satisfy the spiritual needs of his people is borne out from another letter in which he also makes known the willingness of certain English noblemen to assist him financially. ⁵² But the project was never realized, and the Greek Orthodox attended the chapel of the Russian Embassy in Welbeck Street. ⁵³ It was during this time that the contact was made with the Non-Jurors.

These honors and willingness to assist Greek prelates could not have changed completely in the English capital in the next fifty years when Erasmus appeared there, unless he was not a Greek Bishop, as Toplady insists.⁵⁴ That Erasmus was not a Greek Bishop becomes manifest from another very important source: the catalogues of the Bishops of Crete.

Of the ninety-four Metropolitan Sees included within the geographical jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople, dur-

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 5. Later came into possession of the French Huguenots. But it continued to be known as "Les Crecs." Ibid., p. 7.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 50.

⁵² Loc. cit.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 13

⁵⁴ Calls him "a foreign mendicant" and "the Greek Church in Amsterdam believes him to be an impostor." Tyerman, op. cit., II, 487. Another writer considers Erasmus, "... the vagrant, not fully accredited Bishop of Arcadia ..." John D. Wade, John Wesley (New York: Coward McCann Co., 1930), p. 272. Greek Church Historian Vapheides considers him a "supposed-Bishop." Έχκλησιαστική 'Ιστορία (Alexandria: Patriarchate Press, 1928), III, Pt. II, 707.

ing the Turkish domination (1453-1821), the Metropolitan See of Crete took nineteenth place in order of precedence.⁵⁵ And the Episcopal See of Arcadia occupied the third in order of precedence in the Metropolitan See.⁵⁶

To the Metropolitan See of Crete, then, a letter was dispatched for information regarding Erasmus, who claimed to be the Bishop of Arcadia, Crete. The answer verifies the conclusion reached, that Erasmus was not a Bishop of the Greek Orthodox Church because his name is not found in the Episcopal catalogues of Crete. His Eminence, Metropolitan of Crete Eugene states, in a letter to this writer, that "in spite of our research the name of Erasmus is not found in the catalogues of Crete."

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⁵⁵ Reported by Chrysanthos, (1715); Taktikon, (c. 1690); Fabricius, (c. 1710); Paris MS, (c. 1731); Serapheim's list, (1759). Cf. Theodore H. Papadopoulos, Studies and Documents Relating to the History of the Greek Church and People, Under Turkish Dominion (Brussels: 1952), p. 109.

⁵⁶ Loc. cit.



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AN ORTHODOX APPROACH TO CHRISTIAN PHILOSOPHY

By THE VERY REV. EUSEBIUS A. STEPHANOU

It is a time-honored and long-established practice to trace the course of the development of classical thought from the Greeks to the philosophy of the western schools, particularly those in France, England, and Germany. No one would ever think of questioning the fact that Hellenic thought finds its continuance in the West. As for the continuity of philosophy after the beginning of the Christian Era, it is customary to turn to Italy and France, as though Greece had disappeared from the map after the Neo-Platonists had seen their heyday. Generally speaking, the student of western thought almost instinctively turns his attention to western Europe for the growth and continuation of Graeco-Roman culture.

But it is perhaps possible that this perspective is simply the resultant of the tragic delusion under which western society continues to dwell, namely that western, democratic Liberalism is the sole heir of Graeco-Roman civilization. Toynbee¹ concedes to an "affiliation" between Hellenic society and Orthodox Christian society, yet, being a child himself of western society, he, too, is unable to transcend the limits of his own situation and is incapable of liberating himself completely from the hold of what can be termed the "western delusion." He, too, persists in interpreting western society as a natural heir of Graeco-Roman culture, and consequently gives solemn confirmation to this age-long illusion of western tradition.

It is not the purpose here to enter into an argument for the establishment of this position. Suffice it to say, however, that the Orthodox Church, as the final and remaining embodiment of the Orthodox Christian society, affirms—true to her historical consciousness—that if any continuity of Greek thought exists at all, it is only natural that it should be found in Greece itself among the descendants and direct heirs of the early, Greek philosophers. It is her message that Graeco-Roman civilization continued and developed, not in the West which succumbed

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¹ The Study of History, vol. 2, p. 166. Toynbee holds that only "Western Society is that intelligible field of historical study" (vol. 1, p. 36), while Orthodox Christian Society has almost been annihilated or assimilated by the West (vol. 4, p. 2).

to the Germanic barbarians, but rather in the East where Constantinople radiated as the center of a flourishing culture and proved to be a bastion of enlightenment against the forces of darkness for more than a thousand years. This is to say, of course, that western culture in its truer sense is to be looked for where it was originally founded by the first creators of western thought, Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle, and not in the Teutonic Occident, where they were never really understood. Western philosophy by right should be sought in Greece where it had its beginnings. If we do look at its origins for genuine, European philosophy, we will discover a unity and an organic continuity in the course of thought which is sorely lacking in the history of western thought.

Let us now proceed to the consideration of the subject of our study concerning an Orthodox approach to the question of Christian philosophy. Can there be a Christian philosophy? The question never arose in the Orthodox East and has never been a controversial issue in the Orthodox tradition. It is strictly a western problem and has never disturbed the peace and continuity of Orthodox thought. It remains an insoluble and perennial problem only in the Roman and Protestant traditions.

Latin theology, to begin with, has been troubled with the question since the time of St. Gregory the Great (540-605), when Greek culture began disappearing in the West. Under Pope Gregory at a cataclysmic time of social and political upheaval, philosophy lost its traditional status within the framework of Christian thought. Philosophy became regarded as the "artifice of the devil" and a dangerous intruder into the sacred science of theology. Five centuries later, however, the Roman Church was compelled to face the challenge of philosophical thinking, despite her initial intentions of ignoring the demands of the intellect. In the subsequent development of Scholasticism, theology virtually separated from Eastern Christian thought and allied itself with Aristotelianism, which thereafter became the Philosophia Perennis for the Roman Church. Scholastic theology and Scholastic philosophy mark the final break of western thought with the tradition of the Church Fathers. The point to be stressed is that not Platonism, as such, but the Platonic disposition and mentality was forgotten. Aristotelian empiricism and rationalism had never been at home in the Church. "By exalting Aristotle as the new dictator of reason," Hampdon correctly observes, "the Latin Church not only retracted her original intentions, but cut herself off from the philosophy of the early Church."2

² Scholastic Philosophy, p. 62. Cf. Taylor, Philosophical Studies, p. 230.

Luther, on the other hand, in his scorn for Scholasticism, discarded the whole of philosophy along with Aristotelianism and set forth the principles of a *Theologia Biblica*. In tearing the Bible from the context of sacred tradition, it was only natural for the Protestant Reformers to reject the philosophical implications of Christianity which were drawn and established by the Fathers. Thus Protestantism proved to be not only a repudiation of Catholic tradition but a de-intellectualization of the Christian Faith. In the words of Dawson, "Luther took St. Paul without his Hellenism, and St. Augustine without his Platonism." As a result, philosophy is not only suspected, but for ever outlawed. To this day Protestantism is diligently busying itself with the task of "purifying" theology from the "Hellenic accumulations" of the past.

Reason and revelation have never come to terms in Protestant thought. But Roman theology also shares in the tension between the natural and the supernatural. Scholasticism is but the supreme attempt at harmonizing the two. It was the response to the demands of reason, and the accomplishment of Thomas Aquinas remains the last word to this response in the Roman tradition. But is it not curious that Thomism should be regarded as the first or major attempt at the creation of a Christian philosophy? We fail to remember that Thomism in reality represents an enterprise which was already undertaken centuries before the time of the Scholastics. It is but an attempt to perform what was already achieved by the early, Greek Fathers of the Church, and it is an abortive attempt at that. Thomism has not really answered the question concerning Christian philosophy. Thomistic philosophy is merely Aristotelian philosophy in Christian dress, or to put it in different words, a "Christian philosophy" minus the Christianity.4 Philosophy and theology remain externally related. Theology in Thomism has no organic relation with philosophy. The former supplements the latter, like icing over a cake. Moreover, Thomism represents an intellectualistic type of philosophy, whereas the early Christian philosophy was contemplative, as can be seen particularly in St. Augustine. How significant that even Gilson admits of the "total wreck of both scholastic philosophy and scholastic theology as the necessary upshot of the final divorce of reason and revelation." 5 The rise of the double

⁸ Progress and Religion, p. 180.

⁴ Basil Tatakis, Θέματα Χριστιανικής και Βυζαντινής Φιλοσοφίας, p. 5. This book contains perhaps one of the best interpretations of Christian philosophy from the Orthodox viewpoint. Another work by the same author, *La Philosophie Byzantine* (Paris, 1949), is also an excellent reference on this subject.

⁵ Reason and Revelation in the Middle Ages, p. 38.

standard of truth, to be sure, sealed the fate of Scholasticism. It was final evidence that the highest reason could not defend or maintain the tenets of Latin theology.⁶

That both Roman and Protestant theology distrust the demands of the intellect is a plain fact. By and large both regard man as a tragic and paradoxical creature, and find classical expression respectively in such thinkers as Pascal, who accepts the impossible because it is impossible, and Kierkegaard, who finds the evidence of truth in its absurdity. Both alike represent traditions rooted in the separation of reason and revelation, and in the divorce of the human and the divine. It would be correct to think of Existentialism as the ultimate upshot of the increasing estrangement between the two spheres of reality in the thought of western Europe. A kind of intellectual confusion has taken hold of western thought in Existentialism, which marks the tragic outcome of its break with the Christian Hellenism of the East. If there is true progress in human thought, it must rest on organic continuity. Christian thought, which deals with claims of absolute truth, must especially be a continuum.

By the end of the third century of the Christian Era, the transition from pre-Christian Hellenism to Christian Hellenism had been an accomplished fact. No unresolved tension between Hellenic philosophy and Christianity remained thereafter to trouble the organic development of thought. Followers of Greek philosophy found their way into the Mystery of the Christian Faith and continued to wear their philosophical mantle. In the second century, the founder of Christian philosophy, St. Justin Martyr, for example, can say that "we have declared that Christ is the Logos of Whom every race of men were partakers; and those who lived according to reason (μετὰ λόγου) are

⁶ Probably one of the finest studies on the contrast between Greek and Latin theology is Allen's, *The Continuity of Christian Thought*. With regard to the Scholastics, Allen states that "they were unaware that there had been an earlier interpretation of Christianity, made by a people in the full maturity of their intellectual powers, whose reason had been trained for ages by a philosophical culture of the highest order, and in possession of a language beautifully adapted as a perfect vehicle for the expression of the subtlest forms of human thought" (p. 206).

⁷ Skepticism and agnosticism characterize much of Pascal's *Thoughts*. His soul is tortured in its search for the rational grounding of his faith. (*Pensées*, c. xxi, 2).

⁸ Kierkegaard holds that "the absurd is the object of faith, and the only object that can be believed" (*Postscript*, p. 221). "The movements of faith must constantly be made by virtue of the absurd" (*Fear and Trembling*, p. 118 in A Kierkegaard Anthology, ed. by R. Betrall).

Christians, as among the Greeks, Socrates and Heraclitus." ⁹ Clement of Alexandria held that Greek philosophy was a "preparation, paving the way for him who is perfected in Christ. For this was a school-master to bring the Hellenic mind, as the law, the Hebrews, to Christ." ¹⁰

It was a generally accepted view among the Christian intelligentsia in the Early Church that Greek philosophy served as the natural precursor to Christianity. That is to say, what Moses accomplished in preparation for the religion of Christianity, Plato (in particular) achieved in smoothing the way for the philosophy of Christianity. The Eternal Logos Who became incarnate in Christ illuminated the minds of the Greeks and, indwelling in them as spermatic logos and as "natural" reason, guided them in their speculations concerning ultimate reality. They unconsciously looked forward to Christ as the culmination of philosophy, anticipating, as it were, the supreme disclosure of the Logical Truth in the appearance of the Logos Who had been regarded as the rational principle of good, beauty, and truth in the universe. Hellenism required fulfillment in Christ no less than Judaism. God was involved in the history of the Greeks, as He was in the history of the Jews. Thus in Christ, Hellenism and Judaism not only met, but united into an indivisible synthesis and a coherent unity of Absolute Truth.

The connecting link between Hellenism and Christianity was the concept of the Logos. Christians of Greek learning readily recognized this tremendous truth and considered Christ as the perfect fulfillment of philosophy, as well as the realization of the Jewish foreshadowing of true religion. It was not difficult for them to identify the Greek "logos" with the Logos of the Johannine Gospel, namely the "light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world." The "logos" category of Greek philosophy became an accepted category of Christian philosophy. Philosophy in the Christian Church became the science of the Logos and the knowledge of all aspects of philosophical Truth in the light of the Logos. These considerations help us to understand what is meant by saying that "Hellenism is a standing category of the Christian existence." ¹¹

⁹ Π οώτη 'Απολογία, ch. xlvi.

¹⁰ Στοωματείς, Bk. I, ch. v.

¹¹ This is a statement made by Fr. G. Florovsky in *Patristics and Modern Theology*, in *Procès-Verbaux du Premier Congrès de Théologie Orthodoxe*, p. 242, ed. M. Alivisatos. He points out the need for the theologian to 'pass through an experience of a spiritual hellenisation... Many shortcomings in the modern developments of Orthodox Churches depend greatly upon the

Among the first to speculate about the "logos" was Heraclitus. He taught that the "logos" was the rational principle governing all beings in the universe. Anaxagoras spoke of this principle as "mind" (vovs) and held that it was the first principle of all beings. For Plato, "logos" was the supreme idea, or the idea of the Good, which served as the principle of all true knowledge. Aristotle conceived "logos" as the active reason which is transcendent, but which informs the human soul and imparts thereto the power of rational thought. The Stoics thought of "logos" as the life-giving and formative principle of the world. In Neo-platonism the "logos" is a unitary function of the One and contains within itself the archetypes of particulars.

The Logos to Whom the speculative mind of the Greek had soared became fully revealed in the "fulfillment of time." The Logos became flesh, no longer dimly known, but rather recognized in His fulness and perfection. The abstract concept in which the Greeks delighted became a concrete reality in the historical person of Jesus Christ.¹² The object of philosophical inquiry was rendered tangible and accessible. What had been uncertain and vague became certain and clear. Besides being the Priest of the Vicarious Sacrifice for divine-human reconciliation, Christ was He "in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge."

With the appearance of Christian philosophy, all Greek philosophies are thought of as surrendering their initial claims in view of their having completed their task. With the Incarnation of the Eternal Logos, they have no reason to exist as self-sufficient philosophies in their own right. All bits of truth which they contained have become integrated in the all-embracing Truth that appeared in Christ. What truths were contained, for example, in Platonism must no longer be spoken of as "Platonic." All truth is Christian truth whatever may be its source.

In the Orthodox tradition all pre-Christian philosophies are considered as having surrendered their original pretensions in the face of the supreme disclosure of perfect philosophy in the Incarnation; for the Christian believer there is no raison d'être for philosophies existing after Christ. Obviously, all systems of thought that have come after Christ and have regarded themselves as philosophies are really mere

loss of this Hellenic spirit. And the creative postulate for the near future would be like this: let us be more Greek to be truly catholic, to be truly Orthodox."

¹² Perhaps the most elaborate and profound interpretation of this view is found in a work by Soter Philaretos, 'Η 'Ιδέα τοῦ "Οντος, 'Ενσάρχωσις καὶ 'Αστοκάλυψις Αὐτῆς (Athens, 1882).

pretenders and imposters. By virtue of their very existence outside of the pale of the Church, they are out and out hostile to her witness. If the Church is really the "ground and pillar of truth," then philosophic truth belongs to the realm of the Church. Since Christ said "I am the Truth," He is the whole Truth, that is, the totality of metaphysical and transcendent reality; it is through and by Christ that spiritual reality in all its aspects is opened to us.

Philosophy is no secular discipline in Orthodox thought. It is essentially a divine domain of inquiry. But the Church does not invest any outside philosophy with sanctity or ecclesiastical sanction. Christian philosophy has never allied itself with an alien philosophy. It is autonomous and independent, for Christianity is philosophically self-sufficient and requires the assistance of no secular philosophy in acquiring a philosophical status. Accordingly, there can be no question of the relation of philosophy to theology. They are organically related. While theology deals with the nature of God, philosophy treats of the Logos of God. Since it is by way of the Logos that we reach God, it is via philosophy that we approach theology.

We must also observe the factor of rationality in the reality of the continuity between Hellenism and Christian thought. It will be seen that it is a further linking concept. In the philosophy and theology of the Fathers there is a constant appeal made to reasonableness and rationality of truth, just as there was in Greek thought. Even in the mysterious truths of the Faith we find this happening. God must have a Logos if He is to be true and perfect, for the Logos is the very aware-

¹⁸ In this regard Fr. Florovsky observes that "it would be unfair, even from a purely historical point of view, to pretend that the Fathers have expressed the faith of the Church in a conditional language of the current philosophy of their own age which has obviously no title to be canonized, though *implicit*. The full truth about the Holy Fathers is that they have created a new philosophy very different from both Platonism and Aristotelianism, or anything else. . . . This makes ridiculous any attempt to re-interpret the traditional doctrine in terms or categories of a new philosophy, whatever this philosophy may be" (op. cit., p. 241).

¹⁴ This type of thought in which theology and philosophy are interwoven and combined into a synthesis is termed by Berdyaev "theosophy." "Theosophy is the intuition which combines philosophy and religion," he affirms. "It is esoteric and whoever lacks mystical experience cannot understand it." Quoted by P. Tillich in an article entitled Nicholas Berdyaev published by Religion in Life (1938), p. 409. Prof. C. Logothetis also recognizes the significance of this Patristic synthesis. "In the teaching of the Fathers, philosophy and theology are closely related; indeed they are united into a coherent unity and thus the distinction and separation between philosophical and theological concepts becomes an impossibility." See 'Η Φιλοσοφία τῶν Πατέφων (in the prologue).

ness and knowledge that God has about Himself. He is the reflection of God; in Him God contemplates His own essence. The function of the Logos is to reveal the Godhead; He is God's Image, Idea, and Refulgence of His glory. He is an effect and co-eternal consequence as related to the existence of God, but is the cause and principle and reason of the existence and purpose of other beings. He is the efficient and final cause of all beings. Conversely, God is the object of the Logos' cognition. He rejoices in contemplating God and thereby contemplates Himself. And God, being the absolute Mind, not only generates an absolute Idea of Himself, namely the Logos, but also emits an absolute Spirit of cognition. Thus we have an ontological and rational Trinity in the Godhead.¹⁶

There can be no question that reason has always held a more prominent place in Orthodoxy than in western Christianity. The legitimacy of reason in the Christian Faith had been established by the Greek Fathers and rationality has since become a permanent tone in Orthodox thought. It was because of the West's departure from Christian Hellenism that later produced the cultural upheavals of the Renaissance and the Rationalism of the modern age. But its recovery of rationalism was one that occurred as a protest and reaction against traditional culture. It lacked the spontaneity that the rationalism of Christian Hellenism possessed, as well as the character of continuity.

Too often, even Orthodox theologians lose sight of this distinguishing mark of Orthodox thought. Ordinarily, Christian truth is viewed as being above and beyond the rational. Yet, if reason is part of the divine image in man, then it reflects the rational nature of God, and if God is rational, having a Logos, then His Eternal Truths are rational. It would be more correct to say that "natural" man is subrational, rather than to hold that truth is suprarational. Moreover, it is an aspect of Hellenism that corresponds to the verities of Chris-

¹⁵ St. Athanasius is a typical example of the Christian thinkers of antiquity who find eternal truth in the rationality of reality. To be a true Christian is to be truly rational. "Having shadows of the Logos," he writes, "and becoming rational (λογικοί) we are able to abide in blessedness" (Ένανθρώπησις τοῦ Θείου Λόγου, i, 4). Clement of Alexandria says that "To follow right reason to the extent possible is our end (Στρωματεῖς, Bk. ii, 22). St. Gregory of Nyssa states that "man was adorned with life and reason and wisdom and all godly blessings, in order that by means of each of these he might have the desire for what is befitting" (Λόγος Κατηχητικός ὁ Μέγας, ν).

 $^{^{16}}$ According to St. Gregory of Nyssa the dogma of the Trinity is in agreement "with the exact rule of rational knowledge" (Π $_{
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tian revelation. To deny the rationality of the Christian Faith would be tantamount to rejecting the contribution of Hellenism to the Church.¹⁷

It is often forgotten that the correct comprehension and adequate appreciation of the rationality of Christianity can serve as a creative start to a more fruitful development of Orthodox theology, as the opposing conception of Christianity has offered a prolific point of departure in Protestant thought. Such men, for example, as Kierkegaard, Barth, Brunner, and Niebuhr, have created an imposing structure of theological thought on the basis of a tension between faith and reason, between the revealed and the natural, between grace and nature. They have taught—in direct contradiction to Orthodox theology—the discontinuity between God and man, between the divine and the human realms of existence. For them, reason is an obstacle in man's response to divine love. The divine gift of reason must be extirpated, if faith is to be acceptable to God. *Credo quia absurdam* is their axiom. Faith is interpreted as *fiducia*, that is to say, an irrational faith.

Modern Protestantism in its recent re-assertion of its traditional position in the so-called Neo-orthodoxy has become still less able to appreciate Christian Greek theology. Contemporary Protestants persist in viewing Patristic theology as the "triumph of Hellenism over Christianity," and continue making serious indictments against Catholic Orthodoxy.¹⁹

In Orthodox tradition it has always been felt that the ultimate ground of certainty and ultimate authority does not lie outside of man.

¹⁷ According to the Fathers, man is essentially a rational being sharing in the rationality of the Logos. St. Athanasius says that "it is improper for those who once have become rational and have shared in the Logos to be lost and to return by corruption to non-being (Ἐνσάφκωσις τοῦ Θείου Λόγου, vi). St. Gregory of Nyssa speaks of human reason being "infirm" due to the "weakness of man's nature" (ἀπαγὴς ὁ λόγος). (Op. cst. i.)

¹⁸ Brünner, for example, holds that "revealed knowledge is poles apart from rational knowledge. These two forms of knowledge are as far from each other as heaven is from earth." See *Revelation and Reason*, trans. by O. Wyon, p. 16. See also *Philosophy of Religion*, pp. 13, 23f.

¹⁹ Niebuhr contends, as a neo-orthodox Calvinist, that "the adherence of the modern Orthodox Church to the Greek fathers represents in terms of the history of culture the triumph of Hellenism over Hebraism. In terms of religion it is the failure of the Church to understand that part of the gospel which is directed against itself and its saints" (The Nature and Destiny of Man, vol. ii, p. 138). It is against such opposing ideas in Protestantism that Orthodox theology must prepare to vindicate itself. Orthodox theologians of today must regard this as their major task.

We must look for it in man himself, that is to say, within his own nature. Revelation is no strange intruder, nor is it extraneous or alien to the fabric of human nature. Instead, it is eternal reason finding itself at home in human reason; it finds an ultimate appeal in man's conscience. Accordingly, faith becomes a response of the reason in man to the evocation of eternal reason. It is man's recognition of spiritual reality that corresponds to his own being, springing from a natural, inner vision.

Orthodoxy cannot accept that there is a divorce between the revealed and the rational, between religion and philosophy, between the sphere of grace and the sphere of nature. Continuity between the two realms of human experience is basic. The Logos is the source of both; reason cannot be opposed to revelation, but is itself the channel of revelation. Reason is a common property of God and man and it is necessary to recognize the constitutional resemblance between the divine and the human. It is this kinship that made possible the Incarnation of the Logos of God and makes possible the theosis (θέωσις) of man.²⁰

The fiducia and existentialism of modern Protestantism is a far cry from the early Christianity of the Greek Fathers. It does violence to human nature by holding that antinomies of existence cannot be dissolved and by stressing the peculiar tragic condition of man and the irrational and paradoxical character of human existence. It remains the supreme task of Orthodox theology to challenge this recent trend, by re-asserting the principles of Patristic thought which puts the emphasis on man's indwelling energies which exhibit him as a life rather than a structure, a potential God rather than "a useless passion." Berdyaev and Makrakis are among those who have already done much in this direction. This may appear strange, since Berdyaev calls himself an existentialist. But his "existentialism" has little, if anything, in common even with "Christian existentialism."

Now let us consider a third factor which links Hellenism organi-

²⁰ Relevant to the belief in the continuity of the divine and the human is the fact of divine immanence which is integrated in Patristic thought. "Everything is filled with the knowledge of God," says St. Athanasius. "The Logos has spread Himself in all places, above, below, in the depths, in breadth; above in creation, below in the incarnation, in the depths of Hades, in the breadth of the cosmos" (op. cit., 16). St. Gregory of Nyssa likewise affirms, "Who is so infantile in soul as to not believe that the divine is in everything, penetrating and containing and inhabiting all things?" (Op. cit., 25). St. Photius, adhering to the earlier tradition, holds that "the divine is in all things by operation and in essence" ("Εστι τὸ Θεῖον ἐν παντὶ κατ' ἐνέργειάν τε καὶ κατ' οὐσίαν) (Πρὸς ᾿Αμφιλόχιον, 65).

cally with Christian Faith: Contemplation. Since the Incarnate Logos is the key which unlocks the hidden truths of philosophy, the philosopher must acquire knowledge of the Logos, and this he does not by intellectual application alone, but by the method of contemplation. As in Hellenic philosophy, so in Christian philosophy the philosopher must grow in knowledge by feeding upon truth in a life of contemplation.21 Once he has attained the contemplative knowledge of the Logos, then he is able and adequately enlightened to master the branches of knowledge which are related to philosophy, as logic and epistemology. Philosophy per se is transcendent and deals with ultimate reality; it must not be confused with epistemology or logic, as already has happened in modern, western philosophy. These are not an integral part of philosophy and must not intrude into the domain of philosophy proper. Philosophy is an independent and sovereign science and consequently is not immediately concerned with the subjectmatter of the other disciplines. To be sure, however, they are essentially interrelated and dependent upon philosophy. Though they do not constitute philosophy as such, they are, nonetheless, philosophical sciences.

That contemplation is the only source of true and valid knowledge is a basic doctrine found in the Hellenic philosophical tradition from Pythagoras to Neo-platonism. It was a philosophical approach that the Church Fathers acknowledged as fitting and proper to Christian philosophy, which, after all, involved the spiritual relationship and communion of man with ultimate reality, namely God in Christ. Like the Greeks, the Fathers did not think of knowledge and science as simply logical and discursive knowledge, or the empirical perception of sense data. Science (ἐπιστήμη) and knowledge (γνῶσις) were regarded as attainment of mystical intuition. Science had the special meaning of the knowledge of the divine mystery acquired by living the contemplative life (βίος θεωρητικός). It is not the result of academic and scholarly research, but rather the gift of the Holy Spirit given to those who are trained in spiritual ascesis.²²

Thus it can be seen that Christian dogma is not the achievement of erudite minds, but rather the articulation of the contemplative ex-

²¹ Plato taught that the true philosopher, being in communion with Being, draws his rational and spiritual content from it, "feeding on mind and pure knowledge, the proper food of the soul" (*Phaedrus*, 247).

²² Pseudo-Dionysius, who expresses the contemplative spirit of the Orthodox tradition better perhaps than anyone else, says that "this is the point of perfection in all science—to become sharers and initiates in contemplation and to be deficient in no way" (Περὶ Οὐρανίας Ἱεραρχίας, iii, 3).

perience of the Incarnate Logos. All theology is mystical theology and all philosophy must be contemplative philosophy by reason of their empirical (experiential) nature. Philosophy no more than theology can be scholastic or rationalistic, since the object of their inquiry is essentially ineffable. The fulness of contemplative experience cannot be exhausted in philosophical or theological propositions. It cannot be limited and squeezed into a system strictly speaking. This is what makes metaphysics dynamic, instead of static. Since the whole of ultimate reality can never be apprehended in the temporal world because we "see through a glass darkly," philosophy remains living and unceasing in its pursuit. It involves persistent and unending striving. Though philosophical knowledge is most valid and certain, yet there always remains some margin of uncertainty, which the contemplating philosopher always longs to lessen in the constant effort to unite with the Divine.

But valid knowledge requires purity of body and of soul. If the philosopher is to rise to the heights of contemplation, he must be free from the lusts of the body and the passions of pride and egoism. This was originally a Greek idea, and certainly the Fathers could discern that it belonged also to Christian philosophy. It can be considered as a fourth linking concept between Hellenism and the Christian Faith; however, it would perhaps be more convenient to include it in the consideration of the factor of contemplation.²³

Of course, in Christian philosophy there is no place for the doctrine of Recollection (Anamnesis), though it may be legitimate to accept a Christian idealism. It was replaced in the thought of the Fathers by the doctrine of Illumination. All experience, they taught, whether we are aware of it or not, involves contact with the divine mind. All knowledge is, as it were, a kind of revelation and all experience of the created assumes a profound communion with the Creator.²⁴ Man does not recall an invisible world of ideas, which was once his habitation, but as a sharer in the divine nature, he partakes in the perfect knowledge of God, namely in His Spirit, in Whom all ideas of all beings exist eternally.²⁵

²³ See Plato's *Phaedo*, 83, in this connection. St. Athanasius says that "whosoever willeth to grasp the mind of the theologian, must needs wash and clean his soul in life" (op. cit., 57). See also Clement of Alexandria, op. cit., Bk. iii, 5 and iv, 23.

²⁴ See St. Augustine's, *De Trinitate*, ix, 6. Also Pseudo-Dionysius, *On Divine Names*, ix, 8. In the same tradition, Berdyaev asserts that "knowledge is spiritual activity" (*The Destiny of Man*, p. 6).

²⁵ From an Eastern Orthodox perspective, it would not be correct to call

It is in this light that Orthodoxy solves the problem that epistemology has posed in the schools of western philosophers. All knowledge and cognition is sacred.²⁶ There is really no profane knowledge, as such, for all knowledge involves the immanent action of the Spirit.²⁷ The Spirit filleth all things, and especially the human soul, imparting to it cognitive powers and consciousness. This is not to say that the human mind is a passive tabula rasa for the operation of the Spirit. The mind must be trained and exercised both in spiritual purity and in the laws of sound reasoning and judgment. Nevertheless, the element of the mysterious must always be accepted.

Of course, contemplation today is in general viewed by westerners as a strange and irregular way of philosophizing. However, I do not think that those of the Orthodox tradition are under any obligation to apologize for the contemplative approach to philosophy. Orthodoxy takes contemplation as the only normal method for sound philosophy, just as the ancients did and the early Christian thinkers, and by doing so, has safeguarded the unity and continuity of her thought throughout history. The human mind has always been contented and ultimately satisfied in a tradition rooted in spiritual vision. Modern philosophy, however, with the rise of Positivism and Physicalism, has plunged western thought into chaos. The supression of the intuitive and the mystical has produced irreparable damage to human thought and has con-

Christian philosophy a "religious philosophy" on the grounds that it involves the philosopher in communion with spiritual life. Formal intercourse between the philosopher and Divine reality is but normal to true philosophy. The Greek philosophers, for example, were absorbed with speculation on God and His relations with men without involving them necessarily in "religion" and without warranting the description "religious." We must remember that philosophy was marked off from the contemporary, polytheistic religion of the Greeks. All we need to do is to recall to mind the condemnation of Socrates. The Greek philosophers "seem to have been distinguished by an attitude of religious detachment and indifferentism. There was, of course, no sort of secularism or militant antireligious attitude" (Armstrong, An Introduction to Ancient Philosophy, p. 5). Yet, they were concerned with the question of the divine-human relation, as we find particularly in the Platonic tradition.

²⁶ Plato holds that "the philosopher, holding converse with the divine order, becomes orderly and divine" (*Republic*, vi, 500). He speaks of the supreme providence of God, while Aristotle dwells on the love of the world for God. God is loved because of an intrinsic beauty, happiness, and perfection in Him which is to be imitated and propagated in the world.

²⁷ In the philosophy of the Greeks, with few exceptions, the concept of God is basic, holding a central position. Contemplation of the Divine is regarded as proper to the nature of philosophy. The philosopher must experience the spiritual and mystical activity of the soul. It is this tradition which Christian

demned western man to perplexity and confusion. Indeed, it is western philosophy that has much to apologize for.

We have seen in this study that three factors are discernible as linking concepts in the continuity between Hellenism and Christianity: the Logos philosophy, the rational character of the structure of existence, and the contemplative attitude in philosophy. It is significant that by working out the transition along these three directions, the Fathers established the foundations which were to be permanent in the cultural unity and cultural continuity which are unique in Orthodox Christian culture. Their absence in the West in an organic context accounts for much of the cultural disunity and successive cultural upheavals there. It is true that in the West there have always been nostalgic voices for the Christian Hellenism of the Early Church. But they have been nothing more than isolated echoes to be finally lost in an established tradition.²⁸ The spontaneous unity of philosophical and religious thought in the East helps us to understand the Orthodox Christian society as the legitimate heir of Graeco-Roman civilization.

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philosophy continues. True philosophy invariably involves man's fellowship with God. Nevertheless, philosophy and religion are not to be confused. While religion signifies the propitiation of God through sacrificial offering, philosophy involves the growth of man's union with God once forgiveness and justification have been effected. In a western perspective, this type of philosophy might be taken as "religious realism" in the area of human thought, in view of deistic conceptions which dominate the thinking of the West.

²⁸ This is perhaps what Westcott is alluding to in stating that "Greek Christian thought has not yet done its work in the West" (History of Religious Thought in the West, p. 246).



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ORTHODOX ECCLESIOLOGY ACCORDING TO ALEXIS KHOMIAKOV (1804-1860)

By REV. JOHN S. ROMANIDES

The ecclesiological thought of Alexis Khomiakov is more an attempt to express his own personal experience as a living member of the body of Christ than an analysis of the nature of the Church made by one studying an historical phenomenon outside of oneself. According to his own observations, it would be impossible for one living outside of the organic life of the Church to understand the Church. One must live in the Church by losing or rejecting his individuality in order to understand the truth, which is the Church, directly by a spiritual intuition. His approach to the problem of ecclesiology, therefore, is not based on an historical analysis of Church history and dogmatic theology. Rather, he starts from a living present reality experienced by those who live with each other in an intimate and organic unity of freedom and love with the saints, past, present, and, by way of anticipation, future, and works his way from this living reality into the past. He claims that one knows better what is near than what is far. The spiritual traces of the past, however, never disappear. They persist in later generations. Therefore, the present is a safe key to the past and more trustworthy than logical observations made on the basis of isolated historical facts.1

It is not the purpose here to give a detailed account of Khomiakov's theories concerning universal history. For purposes of tracing out some of the basic presuppositions of his ecclesiology, however, it will be useful to define in general terms his conception of the spiritual forces which underlie the various religious movements in history. This does not necessarily mean that Khomiakov's doctrine of the Church is dependent upon his analysis of universal history. On the contrary, it is quite obvious that he has taken his experience of being a member of the Church and projected certain values taken from this experience into the past, in an attempt to explain why these religious values are not everywhere dominant, but seem to be so many times obscured and

¹ A. Gratieux, A. S. Khomiakov (1804-1860), (Paris, 1939), II, 59-60. This is a two-volume work, vol. 1, L'homme; vol. 2, La pensée. Préface auxoeuvres théologiques de A. S. Khomiakov [par G. Samarine] traduction, introduction et notes par A. Gratieux forms a supplement to this work.

almost completely destroyed. Whereas the Fathers of the Church would firmly base their theology concerning the Church on a doctrine of the fall enlightened by a definite doctrine of atonement, Khomiakov seems to try to explain the fall in terms of a philosophy of history and of racial and cultural development similar in method to those of his time (especially to that of Schelling), which, however, does not attempt to trace the source of evil to any one element. He is content to begin with the present and existential reality of restored humanity, which is the Church, and then trace the elements, which comprise the distinguishing characteristics of the Church, through the historical development of religious principles in order to trace out elements of a fall. In doing this, however, he must take for granted the presupposition that the present values, which make Orthodox Christiantity pure, existed in a pure state before their clash with contrary values. In developing his conception of the Church, he finds it necessary to develop a doctrine of the fall in order to justify his basic claim that the Church, being a restored organism free of defects,2 cannot be considered as an earthly institution or organization governed according to the principles of necessity and utilitarianism. Khomiakov does not seem to be troubled with the fall in terms of the origin of evil, but seems to be quite content that the present reality of the Church and her organic and corporate principles of freedom and selfless love are adequate testimony that the rest of humanity has fallen.

Khomiakov calls the two dominant spiritual movements of history by the terms Iranianism and Kouschitism. Iranianism is marked by its belief in divine creation, liberty, moral good as the end of all existence, and in the hope of final victory of good over evil.³ A characteristic attitude of the Iranian principle is an aversion for matter and logical analysis.⁴ Because of this, it finds its historical expression not in architectural monuments and rational analysis, but rather in verbal and social expressions of freedom and organic unity in Love.⁵ The Iranian society is not, therefore, interested in the organization of political life

² Whether the church is a restored people or simply a continuation of a part of humanity kept somewhat pure is not clear in Khomiakov's thought. Such obscurity is due to the fact that his theology lacks any clear soteriological foundation based on the historical fact of Jesus Christ. This seems to explain in part the spiritualistic and ideological tendencies of his thought. For practical purposes, it is taken for granted in this study, although not consistent with his overall principles, that Khomiakov adhered to the Orthodox principle of restored humanity in Christ.

⁸ Gratieux, II, 71.

⁴ Gratieux, II, 72.

⁵ Ibid.

according to laws accompanied by the erection of institutions and monuments which are exterior to human personality.⁶ There is no need for such artificiality since its life is one of organic love, free of utilitarian concern, and contrary to laws of necessity which are of a temporary nature.⁷

In sharp contrast to the Iranian principle of non-utilitarian organic freedom, there are the forces of material necessity, which are mistaken by Kouschitism as eternal. Because of this, they whose thoughts and religious sentiments are dominated by principles of material necessity do not seek, as the Iranians, to purify themselves of these material principles, but rather project the laws of material analysis into eternity, and thus terminate by worshipping the material in a pantheistic manner instead of regarding material phenomena as manifestations of creative will. Thus Kouschitism, in projecting the laws of necessity into eternity, confuses the logic of rational analysis, which is the temporary attribute of seemingly disconnected matter, with truth, and thereby falsely pretends that truth can be comprehended by the isolated reasoning mind. Thus, societies dominated by Kouschit principles express their religious principles in artificial, logical, political, and architectural forms, which are of a purely external and utilitarian nature. To

In present societies and religious institutions, Khomiakov sees various degrees of interchange between Iranian and Kouschit principles. Within each individual there is a conflict between the principles of freedom and necessity.¹¹ It is impossible within the realm of nature to triumph completely over necessity and attain the plentitude of freedom.¹² The highest order of freedom can be attained only within Orthodoxy as the unique organisme de grâce, où agît l'esprit de Dieu, que triomphe le don de la liberté.¹³

Beginning from the present reality of Orthodoxy, Khomiakov traces the Iranian principle through the Church's historical experience to

⁶ Here Khomiakov is trying to justify the type and quality of the social mission that Slavic peoples have to humanity. The Slavs have no cultural monuments or political institutions of any great significance in their ancient history. This is supposed to be due to the fact that the Slavs are of the Iranian mentality and therefore by nature not particularly inclined to such things.

⁷ Gratieux, II, 72.

⁸ Gratieux, II, 71.

⁹ Gratieux, II, 162.

¹⁰ Gratieux, II, 72.

¹¹ V. V. Zenkovskii, Histoire de la philosophie russe, traduit du russe par C. Andronikov (Paris, 1953-54), I, 213.

¹² Zenkovskii, I, 213.

¹³ Ibid.

Judaism, and then attempts to find pre-Judaic signs of the historical clash of Iranianism with Kouschitism. Here it is difficult to follow the integrity of Khomiakov's argument. The clash of the two principles is seemingly symbolic of a fall. Yet this fall cannot be in the realm of the material as such, nor from the spiritual to the material, since for Khomiakov all natural phenomena are manifestations of divine will.¹⁴ On the other hand, man himself does not fall or necessarily become enslaved by necessity through corruption, since tout est dirigé par la raison...¹⁵ Man does not fall because he has necessarily become a slave to material necessity and passions. Rather, he falls because of his refusal to accept the freedom to which he is called by God. Man's slavery to material necessity is not necessary, but voluntary, and is a product of his loss of the interior harmony and integrity of reason and of the spirit.¹⁶

At this point in the development of Khomiakov's thoughts, it is clear that there is no room in his theology for a doctrine of fallen humanity in terms of inheritance of a defective human nature. His voluntarism, together with his refusal to allow the passions any predominant role in human actions, is in harmony with the various liberal traditions of Western theology which would allow the individual will the ability to make the moral decision to fulfill or not to fufill the requirements of moral law apart from Christ for salvation. His diversion, however, from the usual voluntarism and naturalism of Western liberal theology is markedly sharp in respect to his concept of freedom in terms of non-utilitarian organic unity and of true knowledge in terms of this same organic unity in selfless love. In this respect, the role of tradition becomes paramount to Khomiakov's theology, and one may even go so far as to say that his concern for tradition is the principal key to his religious and social thought.

According to Khomiakov, despite the fact that the human will in its potential capacity remains intact, it is still impossible for the isolated individual as such to contemplate truth. For this purpose, it is necessary for the individual to live within the organic unity of the Church without any ulterior motivations. It is only when one is united organically with others in Christ, in complete freedom from the principles of necessity, that one is able to contemplate the truth. For this reason it is necessary to be united to the continuity of the historical process which has preserved the truth inseparable from the true corporate life of the spirit, free of Kouschit principles. The Iranian principle of organic

¹⁴ Gratieux, II, 162.

¹⁵ Zenkovskii, I, 214.

¹⁶ Gratieux, II, 144; Zenkovskii, I, 214.

unity in freedom and love had been miraculously preserved as tradition by Israel and passed on by Christ into Christianity.¹⁷ Not all Christians, however, have remained faithful to this tradition. Orthodoxy, however, preserves within Herself these principles of organic unity in freedom and love in their purest form.

In order to understand Orthodox Christianity, therefore, it is impossible to apply as criteria the categories of logic taken from observations of material laws of necessity. Such a process of understanding is the destiny of the isolated individual, and for Khomiakov the contemporary philosophical development of his time is proof of the bankruptcy of the individualistic method of logical analysis and rationalism. Truth cannot be contemplated by the individual because truth is not logical definition but life, and life is not individualistic but organic.

The keys to Orthodox spirituality and truth, then, are not the utilitarian principles of material necessity which give rise to an emphasis on law and authority, but rather the organic and vital principles of liberty and love.¹⁸ The Church is not a simple collective organization whose unity is of an external nature; nor is the Church some kind of abstract idea, perhaps hidden in her external life.19 Within the usual institutions governed by Kouschit principles, the moral and spiritual factors are separated from the organic, and because the internal principle of non-utilitarian love is missing, the organic necessarily degenerates to the level of organization, law, and external authority. Within Orthodoxy the union of the spiritual and organic factors constitutes the very essence of the Church 20 and marks her off from all other institutions. This union of the moral and organic principles makes the Church an integral reality. The matrix of this reality is the very Spirit of God, which constitutes the inner bond of union of what visibly seems, to those at least who lack faith, disunited.

L'unité de l'Église découle nécessairement de l'unité de Dieu; car l'Église n'est pas multiplicité des personnes dans leur individualité propre, elle est unité de la grâce divine qui vit dans la multiplicité des créatures raisonables dociles à la grâce.²¹ The Church is the body of Christ which is manifested and fulfilled in time without any modifica-

¹⁷ Gratieux, II, 78.

¹⁸ Zenkovskii, I, 210-211; Gratieux, II, 108-109, 133, 138-139, 210.

¹⁹ Zenkovskii, I, 210.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ A. Gratieux, Le mouvement slavophile à la veille de la Révolution: Dmitri A. Khomiakov; Suivi du traité d'Alexis Stépanovitch Khomiakov, L'Eglise est une; traduction [de] Roger Tandonnet (Paris, 1953).

tion of her essential unity and to her internal life of grace.²² Since the Holy Spirit and Christ Himself dwell in both the visible and invisible Church, there is necessarily a perfect harmony between the members of the Church who live on earth with those who are in heaven. The visible and invisible Church are one inseparable reality, differing only in the fact that the earthly Church, although the habitation of Christ and the Spirit in the fulness of life, does not yet experience the plentitude of Christ and the Spirit in their manifestations. The Church does not act and understand fully and clearly, but only by a degree pleasing to God.²³ The visible Church exists according to truth only by realizing her organic unity with the invisible Church and remaining faithful to the invisible Church by continuously becoming her manifestation upon earth.²⁴

The internal and non-materialistic aspect of the Church, of which the visible and earthly Church are but a manifestation, can be seen only by a spiritual intuition by those who are called by divine grace to be members of the body of Christ.²⁵ Unity in the body of Christ is an internal and organic reality which can be understood only by those who have a living experience of being members of this organic reality, and a fundamental prerequisite of this experience is a faith free from ulterior motivations. Those who are yet slaves to material principles envisage the Church as a means to something else, 26 and fail to see that the organic life of selfless love is an end in itself. Such a faith, tainted by even a partial enslavement to the principles of material necessity and law, automatically seeks an expression of Church unity along the Kouschit lines of external organization or external freedom. The doctrine of the papacy and the doctrine of individualistic freedom, which is of a purely external nature and common to Protestants, are attractive and easily understood by the common mind because they are in keeping with the spirit of the world, especially of the Western world.²⁷

According to the principles set down by Khomiakov, there can be no such thing as a personal infallibility separated from the organic life and experience of the Church. Knowledge of truth can come only with the experience of truth as a member of the body of Christ and

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Zenkovskii, I, 211.

²⁵ See A. Gratieux, ed., L'Eglise est une, Le mouvement slavophile.

²⁶ G. Samarine: Préface aux oeuvres théologiques de A. S. Khomiakov, traduction, introduction et note: par A. Gratieux (Paris, 1939). This work supplements A. S. Khomiakov (1804-1860).

²⁷ Gratieux, II, 85.

with a faith free of ulterior motivation. A person outside the inner spiritual life of the Church cannot be a spokesman of the truth which is this same life that he ignores. Holiness and infallibility are inseparable realities which cannot be separately argued to any individual. There is no "sacrament of rationalism." ²⁸ One must be a living member of the Church in order to understand the Church. One may add that an arbitrary predestination of an individual's infallibility divested of moral principle and magically insured because of geographic location is preposterous. When there is heresy to combat, there are and always will be those who experience the organic truth by their holy lives, who will raise their voices and give expression to the living reality of truth which is the Church. It is only the saints who can defend the Church from heresy. ²⁹

Within the organic life of the Church, authority cannot be of an external nature whereby the individual submits his liberty and conscience to something outside of himself in exchange for the comfortable feeling that in doing this he is assuring himself of salvation. Such a commercial and utilitarian attitude can be no more than a survival of the Kouschit principle of magic whereby one thinks that God is thus obligated to save because of an altogether external act. Within Orthodoxy, as expounded by Khomiakov, there is no such demand made upon the individual, that is, to give up his freedom in return for salvation. On the contrary, the individual is called upon to be free, to accept the fact of his freedom from the principles of necessity, by realizing his membership within the organic unity of the Church through the principle of selfless love. Thus, one's faith may become completely free and not distorted by an external submission to an external institution.

It follows from this that the Church being taught and the teaching Church cannot be sharply separated according to clerical distinction. Every Christian can realize the possibility of experiencing the truth as organic reality and giving a living expression and lesson of this experience through his life of holiness. Khomiakov strongly rejects the idea that any Bishop, or even any group of Bishops assembled in an Ecumenical Council, can be an authority. Bishops assembled in council are not doing so to authoritatively define, but rather only to give expression to an already living reality recognized in common by the whole Church, both clergy and laity. The expression of a council can be true only when recognized as such by the whole Church — that is, by those living within and experiencing the Church. It

²⁸ Gratieux, II, 135.

²⁹ See A. Gratieux, ed., L'Eglise est une, Le mouvement slavophile.

³⁰ Gratieux, II, 135.

³¹ Gratieux, II, 80.

Besides the internal bond of unity, Khomiakov remarks about other marks of the Church, such as holiness, immutability, catholicity (Sobornost), and apostolicity. These marks of the Church, as in the case of unity, can be recognized only by the living members of the Church. Those who are outside easily attribute the sins of individuals to the Church herself, and mistake external changes of rite for changes of the "Spirit itself which one glorifies in the rite." Since, however, the Spirit of truth indwells and guides the Church according to her inner life of organic unity and love, there can be no mixture of error within her bosom. All error is foreign to her nature. It is impossible for the Church to recognize as true what she once knew to be false. It is for this very reason that the Church always remains immutable according to the internal nature of her holiness and truth.

Against the accusation of P. Gagarine³³ that the Russian Church mistranslated the word *Katholikos* with the Slavonic word *Sobornost* (meaning, according to all or togetherness), Khomiakov answers that the term Catholic Church signifies "the Church which is according to all, or according to the unity of all, the Church of free unanimity, of perfect unanimity." ³⁴ The word cannot be rendered in a geographical sense. This would reduce the Church to something altogether external and deny the internal reality of her organic unity.

The greatest single value of Khomiakov's approach to the problem of ecclesiology is his refusal to be content in dealing with theological problematics as set forth by various Western traditions and taken up so easily by many Orthodox theologians.⁸⁵ He saw clearly that Ortho-

38 Gagarine was a member of the Russian nobility who had been converted to Romanism and became a Jesuit.

⁸⁵ After Peter the Great, Western theology had made such sweeping advances in Russia that the official theological language had become Latin, and remained this way till the time of Khomiakov.

³² See A. Gratieux, ed., L'Eglise est une, Le mouvement slavophile. Khomiakov here has in mind the Old Believers who split the unity of the Church in Russia because of differences in ritual. One must keep in mind, however, that the alteration of external rite is almost always the product of loss of understanding of the internal reality of the external action. In many cases, the change of external action comes about as the outcome of a change in dogma. In the case of the separation of the Roman Church from Orthodoxy, there first came a change in dogmatic understanding and then came a whole series of changes in ritual. The immediate cause of the split was difference in ritual, but the underlying cause of this difference was a difference in dogmatic understanding.

⁸⁴ Gratieux, II, 154. The derivation of this translation of the Greek word *Katholikos* is not something accidental. It can be understood by taking into consideration the fact that in the Greek monastic communities the place of worship—*epi to auto*, where the monks gather to worship according to their common faith or in the faith according to all—is called *To Katholikon*.

doxy as a totality of integrated life and experience, guided by the Holy Spirit in the path of non-utilitarian love and freedom, must deal with her doctrines and practices from the point of view of her own principles, and not from the utilitarian perspectives of occidental theological problematics.

As far as Orthodoxy is concerned, there can be no contradiction among tradition, Holy Scripture, and good works. They are all manifestations of the One Holy Spirit, which guides the Church and dwells in her bosom. The Church is a living and ever-present organic reality, and without any contradiction to her own principles, finds expression in a perfect harmony of tradition, scripture, and works.³⁶ This harmony, however, cannot be seen by one living outside of the Church.⁸⁷ Tradition, scripture, and works taken separately are of a purely external nature. Their internal meaning can be understood only by those who are living in the Spirit. For the faithful, they present themselves as a perfect and harmonious expression of the living reality of the Church, vivified by the Spirit of truth. Tradition and scripture cannot be considered authentic in themselves, but rather they are authentic because they are in harmony with living reality and are recognized as such by the Church. It is the Church as a living organism which recognizes and accepts what is pure; for ". . . there was never, and there will never be, any contradiction in scripture, or in tradition, or in works: for in all three lives Christ, one and immutable." 88

The problem of whether one is saved by faith or by works is rejected by the presupposition of Khomiakov's position. Samarine vividly points out how falsely the whole problem is presented in the West because of a mixture of the erroneous principles of utilitarianism. The very fact that such a question can arise shows that faith is confused with thoughtless knowledge, and works as manifestation of faith are confused with works in the domain of visible facts which are done for profit. The whole system of supererogatory works (Rome) is rejected by Orthodoxy because works are not done for profit, but as an expression of free love. In like manner, monasticism is not something that produces more profit or more graces, but is an attempt to acquire a more perfect selfless love, free of utilitarian concern. Faith, hope,

³⁶ A. Gratieux, ed. and tr., G. Samarine: Préface aux oeuvres, p. 62.

³⁷ See A. Gratieux, ed., L'Église est une, Le mouvement slavophile.

³⁹ A. Gratieux, ed. and tr., G. Samarine: Préface aux oeuvres, p. 63. ⁴⁰ One may add that fasting and epitemia are not used for purposes of satisfying God or punishing the sinner, but rather are spiritual exercises intended to help one fight temptation and achieve a higher degree of selflessness.

love, and works are manifestations of those members of the Church guided by the Spirit and cannot be taken separately. They are not to be understood legalistically, according to laws of a totally external nature, since the Church is not an utilitarian institution but a living organism whose members are called on to be completely free from necessity.

The soteriology of Khomiakov, as is natural, parallels his gnoseology. Just as the individual as such cannot know the truth, so the individual as such cannot be saved as an individual. In both cases, there must be a union and common effort of many. "If one falls, he falls alone; but no one is saved alone. He who is saved is saved in the Church, in so far as being a member of the Church and in union with all her other members. If someone believes, it is in the communion of faith; if he loves, it is in the communion of love; if he prays, it is in the communion of prayer. Also no one can hope in his private prayer, and each one, when he prays, implores the intercession of the whole Church, not at all as if he doubts the intercession of Christ, the sole mediator, but with the conviction that the whole Church continuously prays for all her members." 41 The whole Church as one body of Christ, both visible and invisible, is in a state of prayer, and prayer is an expression of love and concern for others. "True prayer is true love." 42 Those who pose the question of whether prayer is really useful, since God foresees our needs, are without doubt in the class of those who think of their relationship with God and each other in terms of the ulterior motives of necessity. Such a problem cannot exist for those whose prayer is an expression of freedom. Prayer is not a business which one makes with God for personal profit. It is not a magical apparatus with power of changing God's attitude toward us or toward the dead who are imagined to be in a kind of purgatory.

While the internal nature of the Church is the unity of the Spirit, the external nature of the Church is manifested in the sacraments. Khomiakov gives a very brief and casual explanation of the sacraments, listing them as seven and pointing out that it is possible to share in the interior life of the Church without partaking of the sacraments. He lists the examples of the prophets and martyrs who have been saved by Christ without having been baptized. One cannot set limits to the mercy of God. The Church is not in any position to judge what is beyond her own limits. She can judge only what is within her own or-

⁴¹ See A. Gratieux, ed., L'Eglise est une, Le mouvement slavophile, pp. 235-236.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴⁸ A. Gratieux, ed., L'Eglise est une, Le mouvement slavophile.

ganic life, and this she does not according to the external rational power of reason, but according to faith and love.⁴⁴

Khomiakov claims that only a person who understands the liturgy is able to understand the Church.⁴⁵ One may find his treatment of the sacrament of Holy Chrismation, completely apart from baptism (he treats in order: Baptism, Eucharist, Holy Orders, and then Chrismation), quite peculiar. In his treatment of marriage he fails to apply his own principles of contrary values in order to point out the difference between a Christian and a non-Christian marriage. His treatment of penance is according to ideas still prevalent in Russian thought today.

Very interesting is Khomiakov's treatment of the schism. His method is in harmony with the presuppositions underlying his general theories. Since truth is accessible only in corporate and organic union in Christ with each other, it follows that an individualistic attitude and loss of the realization and understanding of this organic unity leads necessarily into error. The loss of the moral principle of organic unity can lead only to heresy. According to Khomiakov, this is clearly what happened in the case of the Filioque. Some Western Churches thought that they, in their individual existence, could introduce into the Creed an addition and into the Church a new teaching without even bothering to consult their brethren in the East. When the quarreling started later on about the theology of the Filioque, the roots of schism were already well planted because the ties of love had already been broken. 47

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ A. Gratieux, ed., L'Eglise est une, Le mouvement slavophile. Why this is so, he does not clearly explain. Khomiakov lived in an age when liturgy played a very meager role in overall theology. That he should make such a statement is amazing. It is unfortunate that he did not leave any writing further explaining this statement. If his friend and contemporary, Gogol, is any indication of his own liturgical theology, one can conclude that it was not very profound theologically.

⁴⁶ Ibid.; Gratieux, II, 83.

⁴⁷ The danger of such a sentimental approach toward the cause of schism and heresy can be seen in the fruits of Khomiakov's theology. His son Dmitri, by a logical development of his father's theories, claimed that the first step toward unity is to realize on earth, through the moral power of love, the already existing unity in heaven. He clearly accepted a branch theory type of universal ecclesiology. See A. Gratieux, ed., Le mouvement slavophile, pp. 75, 113.

Of course, Alexis Khomiakov never reached the stage attained by his son. He rejects the possibility of such a common participation of ultimate reality by heretics. According to the moral presuppositions set down by him, however, for an intuition of truth it would be necessary to allow heretics to partake of the Church's interior life in order that they may see their error, since only those who are in the Church understand truth. He fails to propose any explanation of how conversion is possible for one outside the Orthodox tradition.

Besides this moral factor, Khomiakov claims that the Western Christians had a natural tendency to revert back to Kouschit principles because of the strong influence of Roman political organization and law left on the character of the people. When the papal theories started taking form, resistance to this rebirth and ascendency of Kouschit principles was very weak. On the contrary, it even seems as if the papacy only fulfilled a general desire of the Western character.48 It was almost inevitable that the Iranian principles of non-utilitarian freedom and love should be replaced by rationalism and a juridical concern for external things such as organization. This separation of the moral principle from unity automatically gave rise to the suppression of liberty for the sake of preserving unity. 49 The Church of the West was thus doomed to follow the ways of all other worldly organizations and institutions. A reaction naturally set in, and those who reasserted their liberty gave birth to the Protestant revolution. Both Protestantism and Romanism, however, represent a basic failure to unite and harmonize liberty and unity because these have been separated from the moral principle of non-utilitarian love, and subjected to the Kouschit principles of material necessity and rational analysis. Complete unity in complete freedom is possible only to those who seek selfless love in Christ and each other. Khomiakov does not see in Romanism and Protestantism two contrary extremes, but rather two sides of the same coin. Both Latin unity and Protestant freedom are of a purely external nature deprived of the bond of the inner organic communion of love. Both pretend to be able to fashion the theology of the Church by applying ordinary rules of logic and reason borrowed from an analysis of material phenomena.

Khomiakov clearly rejects the possibility that any person or group of persons outside the Church can come to a full understanding of Orthodoxy. It is not the opinion of individuals or of many individuals that count, be they doctors or Bishops; rather, it is the faith of the community.⁵⁰ It is only by uniting with the living organic reality of the Church that one can begin to understand the truth by the experience of selfless and corporate love.

The persistent insistence of Khomiakov on the necessity of experiencing the Church as an organic unity of selfless love free of necessity, in order to understand the reality of the Church by a direct intuition, is a fact borne out by the practice of the early Church with regard to the Catechumens and their preparation before and after baptism. Be-

⁴⁸ Gratieux, II, 85.

⁴⁹ Gratieux, II, 89.

⁵⁰ Gratieux, II, 120.

fore baptism, they were prepared morally and catechetically by the teachings of the Prophets and Christ. It was only after baptism, however, that they were instructed in the mysteries of the Church.⁵¹ First came the experience of the community's unity and love, then the experience of the spiritual death and resurrection of baptism during Holy Saturday of the Great Pascha, and finally came the instruction in the mysteries of the Church — an attempt at a fuller and deeper understanding of the reality of being a member of the body of Christ. Only intensive moral preparation made possible a spiritual and intuitive understanding of the reality of the body of Christ. During the period of catechism prior to baptism, the catechumens were exposed to the Church's understanding, not only of the prophets, but also of the power of the enemy of mankind; and an intensive attempt was made through exorcisms and prayer to liberate the candidates for baptism from his power. By the power of death and corruption, the devil held man captive to necessity. The catechumens had to first struggle by fasting and prayer for liberation from the devil, since it was only the mind, free of ulterior motivation and disposed actively toward selfless love, which could be effectively exposed to the inner life of the mysteries. It is quite clear that although Khomiakov did not take into consideration the early practice of the Church in regard to the catechumens and exorcisms, and in spite of the fact that he failed to incorporate into his scheme of thought any doctrine of original sin in terms of inheritance of defective or sick human nature held captive by the devil (as taught by the patristic tradition and witnessed to by the entire service of baptism), he came to certain conclusions quite similar to the overall patristic tradition. The reason for this concurrence of general principle is clearly the fact that he grasped firmly the central moral principle necessary for comprehending the organic reality of the Church — faith which is completely free of utilitarian concern and positively expressed in selfless love. Beginning and ending his process of thought at this one point, it was inevitable that his pressing of such principles would lead to a method for dealing with ecclesiology on a footing not at all familiar to the general eudaimonistic and hedonistic presuppositions underlying Western theology. It is in this respect that one may safely say that Khomiakov served as an important stepping stone for the liberation of modern Russian theology from the usual Western method of posing theological problems, and making it possible to present Orthodox theology in the West in a more integrated manner.

A serious problem that Khomiakov leaves unintelligible is the relation of material necessity to spiritual phenomena. He claims that

⁵¹ St. Athanasius, Migne, P.G., t. 25, col. 268.

chaque phénomène du monde physique n'est-il pas la manifestation de la volonté sainte de Dieu?⁵² Yet, at the same time, he claims that necessity is proper only to phenomena and not to their root.⁵³ If necessity is foreign to the source of all things, and at the same time something morally bad which is to be avoided, how can necessity come into being? Although Khomiakov refuses to accord the passions any dominant role in the actions of man, he does acknowledge the fact that in this world complete liberation from necessity is impossible.⁵⁴ It follows that in this material world liberty can be attained not completely, but only in degrees. He would have to admit, then, in principle the necessity for some kind of Church organization. His whole argument depends for its validity on the claim that the forces of necessity underlying all organizations and institutions are abnormal. This claim he fails to substantiate. Much worse, he is driven to a type of dualistic spiritualism by making out material creation to be something by nature inferior, bad, and the cause of the evil of organization. His spiritualization of the resurrection of Christ 55 is unbiblical and directly in the line of docetism and logically leads to a denial of the visible Church. 56 In contradiction to the doctrine of creation, which he accepts, Khomiakov opposes the spiritual and material. It is exactly here that he differs from Orthodox patristic and Biblical tradition, and it is because of this spiritualism that his ecclesiology is disconnected from Orthodox soteriology.

The ecclesiology of the Fathers is inseparable from soteriology and Christology. The pivotal point of all their thinking is the necessity of liberation from the powers of death and the devil through communion with the Source of Life in the human nature of Christ. The real resurrection of the very flesh of Christ is considered as the defeat of the devil and as, simultaneously, the restoration of freedom and life. The struggle against the devil and his powers was adequate proof that the Church could not confuse herself with ordinary earthly institutions given over to slavery and material necessity. The starting point of patristic theology is the resurrected flesh of Christ as witness to the abnormality of death and corruption, and as proof of the devil's defeat. Death in the hands of the devil was considered the root cause of the instinct to self-preservation, egocentrism, fear, hatred; and the resur-

⁵² Gratieux, II, 162.

⁵³ Zenkovskii, I, 225.

⁵⁴ Zenkovskii, I, 213.

⁵⁵ A. Gratieux, ed., L'Eglise est une, Le mouvement slavophile.

⁵⁶ Following Khomiakov's line of thought, G. Samarine denies completely the possibility of having any visible sign of Church unity. See A. Gratieux, ed. and tr., G. Samarine: Préface aux oeuvres, note 1, p. 65.

rected flesh of Christ was and is the victory of the Church over death, sin, and corruption. The patristic concept of salvation, sacraments, and Church is quite materialistic, but not in the ordinary sense. While matter itself is considered as created by God and therefore good, still the parasitic elements of death and corruption, both in creation and man, are understood as the work of Satan. Therefore the materialism of the Church is of a purely sacramental nature centered in the flesh of Christ, which is transforming both the faithful of all ages and material creation, and at the same time rejecting the materialism of the devil, that is, slavery to the powers of death and corruption.⁵⁷

Khomiakov's philosopher-friend Kirêevski claims, . . . il est impossible de renouveler la philosophie des saints Pères sous l'aspect qu'elle avait de leur temps.... Elle répondait aux questions de son temps et de la culture parmi laquelle elle se développait.58 Khomiakov agrees in both this observation and in the necessity to develop a Russo-Christian philosophy which would meet the social and religious demands of contemporary society. Such a viewpoint is possible only when one is willing to ignore Orthodox soteriology in its positive element of communion with the Source of Life only through the flesh of Christ in the corporate Eucharist epi to auto, and in its negative element of struggle against the dividing powers of satan through the life of selfless love in this same Eucharistic life. Philosophy is most always an attempt to explain reality in terms of observations made upon what is taken to be either normal or abnormal by the individual thinker. The struggle between God and the devil, with man taking the one side or the other, cannot be understood by philosophy. Its meaning is revealed only in the victory of the resurrection. This victory can be appropriated only by those who take up the struggle against the devil by a personal and heroic effort to overcome slavery to the satanic powers of death and corruption by the grace of the living flesh of Christ. The flesh of Christ is Itself the foundation of dogma. This flesh of Christ is not a philosophy among philosophies which can be exchanged for something new from time to time according to the attitudes of self-styled

⁵⁷ Although Khomiakov does not give the devil the negative role due to him in the doctrine of ecclesiology as clearly implied in the sacrament of baptism, he seems to have ignored the problem. He did write to Krochélev "concerning the evil spirits." See A. Gratieux, I, xviii. Unfortunately, this work has yet to be uncovered. He also makes frequent remarks in his letters to his friends to the effect that "our fight is not against flesh and blood . . ." — referring to St. Paul's claim that our fight is really against the devil. How he understood this is not clear. Judging from everything else that he discusses, however, he, in all probability, did not interpret the devil in the patristic spirit.

⁵⁸ Gratieux, II, 214-215.

philosophers. Death and devil remain today the same powers of sin as in the time of the Fathers. The destruction of death and devil by the resurrected flesh of Christ remains the only victory over sin. Participation in this victory through the corporate sacramental life in selfless love is still the only possible condition for salvation. Beyond the triumphant and struggling Church, there is society being carried to and fro by the whims and fancies of people not even aware of the devil's power. It is for this reason that the Church during Lent presents the Catechumen with the tragedy of Job and then through baptism the answer of the resurrection. The Church is a society which has rejected in baptism the values of what is taken to be the normal world. Membership in this society, in addition to the sharing in the organic unity of the Church, also shows the heroic effort of the individual within the body of Christ to overcome the world by sharing in the victory of Christ over the world. The Church as such cannot save society at large. Only the flesh of Christ saves. The Church is a society whose members are being saved. The Church cannot save those outside of herself. The Church can only invite those outside to share in the salvation of baptism and of the sacramental life. To speak of the relationship between the Church and society, or culture, then, is quite useless and can only lead to an ecclesiology based on nationalism. Within the realm of faith, which is the flesh of Christ, and love, which is the blood of Christ,⁵⁹ there is no room for philosophy, either social or dialectical. The claim of Khomiakov and Kirêevski that the philosophy of the Fathers does not speak to contemporary man can only mean that the Slavophils misunderstood both the Fathers and the Orthodoxy which they (the Fathers) expounded.

The Slavophil movement, of which Khomiakov was one of the founders and leading thinkers, theologically grasped at the idea of the Church as an organic unity of people in complete freedom from utilitarian concern. However, while the Slavophils recaptured this one positive element of patristic and Biblical theology concerning the Church, they completely overlooked the negative aspects of ecclesiology as expressed in the sacrament of baptism. For this reason they imagined that the application of the principles of selfless love could be extended and maintained in the character of people living in society at large, and as such tried to create a Russo-Christian social philosophy. They had no theology of struggle against the forces of the devil, death, and corruption. For this reason their ecclesiology overlooked the patristic

⁵⁹ St. Ignatius, Trallians, Chapter 8.

⁶⁰ A clear indication of this lack of understanding of struggle can be seen in the reason that Samarine gives for Khomiakov's habit of fasting during all the

dogma of Church as a real union with each other in the flesh of Christ for the double purpose of communicating with divine life for immortality and of destroying the powers of the devil. Instead of basing their theology of the Church on patristic soteriology and Christology, they adapted themselves to a contemporary German philosophy of social life as organism and imagined that the Russian peasants were the Orthodox par excellence because of something inherent in the national character.

One is bound to agree with G. Samarine's feeling that Khomiakov has helped to clear the atmosphere of doctrinal problematics by liberating Russian theology from the mire of Western utilitarian and hedonistic presuppositions by recapturing the Biblical and patristic theme of unity grounded in complete freedom and selfless love. In spite of his failure to harmonize and adequately define the visible and invisible elements of the Church with his doctrine of the material in opposition to the spiritual, he has pointed the way to the reunification of dogma and ethics. However, he leaves many problems untouched and unsolved because of his failure to grasp firmly the patristic doctrine of salvation. But then Khomiakov was a pioneer in his particular period. His greatness as a theologian is based not on his strict adherence to patristic theology, but rather on the fact that he paved the way for a return to the Fathers of the Church.

Paris, France

prescribed periods by the Church. Khomiakov... observait strictement tous les jeûnes. Pourquoi? Pour la même raison: parce que tous le font, c'est-à-dire tous ceux qui pour lui étaient les siens parce qu'il ne pouvait lui venir à l'esprit de se séparer, en violant la coutume, de la société qui s'appelle l'Eglise; parce qu' ensin il avait de la joie à penser qu'avec lui, au même jour, à la même heure, toute sa société, c'est-à-dire tout le monde Orthodoxe, commençait ou sinissait le jeûne, en souvenir du même événement, de la joie commune ou de la tristesse commune.



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heroes, and faithful followers of our Divine Lord. In the march of these unusual thinkers and virtuous adherents of the Gospel, the powerful Roman Empire was shaken and on its ruins was erected the structure of Christian civilization, which we claim as ours.

But today our civilization, the product of the power of the Resurrection, is in danger, because we have lost Christ the Divine, thinking it sufficient to abide by Christ the Human: The result is that our Christian enthusiasm is gone. That the group of admirers has outnumbered the ranks of the faithful and the faith in the power of God tends to be overshadowed by the faith in the power of man which, regardless of many tragic results, seems to gain ground every day.

Our world, however, needs nothing more than that power which the Resurrection of Christ enkindled in the hearts and minds of the disappointed disciples. This is the power which will save the world and the ground where we may stand to rebuild our crumbling convictions and fill our empty theological theories. It has been said that Christ is Christianity and Christianity is Christ, and rightfully so. However, unless we recognize Christ beyond the Cross, not simply as a great prophet and mortal moralist, but as an immortal God-Man and Saviour, our Christianity will remain without Christ, and our theories will be vain, and our world will certainly be the playground where sin and failure are the dominating forces.

ORTHODOX WITNESS

Christian Orthodoxy stands for the fulness of the revealed religious truth, in which all the visions and prophecies of mankind are realized. All generations, in their conscious and unconscious expectations, have shown the desire for Truth. Christian Orthodoxy is the answer to such quests, because the essence of Orthodoxy is the complete revelation of God and the salvation of the fallen man.

We know from experience that truth always results in some form of opposition. Since Orthodoxy denotes the totality of religious truth, it has been impossible to avoid opposition in all its manifestations. Orthodoxy has coped with persecution, and at the same time with distortion and error. Persecution strengthened the Faith with the Blood of the Martyrs, while distortion and error produced, through necessity, confessors and teachers capable in their wisdom to expose heresy and defend truth. The blood of the Martyrs and the steadfastness of the Christian Teachers have time and again renewed the powers of Orthodoxy to endure all persecutions and intellectual attacks.

In this endurance, we witness the presence of a miraculous power inspiring and defending the Orthodox Faith. It was Christ who promised His constant presence and Who realized the sending of the Paraclete to guide the defenders of Christian Orthodoxy "unto all truth." The denial of the miraculous power that strengthened the Orthodox Christians and enabled them to preserve the integrity of the Faith cannot be reconciled with the very existence of this Faith. It is, to be sure, an historical fact that all the might of this earth had turned against this Faith. Monotheists and polytheists, country folk and city dwellers, philosophers and illiterates, kings and priests allied themselves against this Faith. Yet, if history should be asked regarding the result of this organized action against Christian Truth, it will not find an answer more fitting than the one found in the verses of the first Epistle of St. John: "Who is he that overcometh the world? This is the victory that overcometh the world, even our Faith."

Christian Orthodox truth was victorious and its victory was the result of a miracle. It did not wish to establish itself by guile or through the media of compliance, force and coercion, for all these are schemes incompatible with the sacredness of its origin. The Orthodox Faith achieved victory with the invincible weapon of sacrifice and with the time-honored verities of truth and sacrifice and endurance. It conquered with the cross, that is, with the same means through which the power of sin was subdued; it reasserted the power of love, illumination, and even deification as possible human achievements.

The enemies of the Orthodox Faith, however, were not the external persecutors before whom the Martyrs stood with composure. The most dynamic adversaries of Orthodoxy were the internal distorters and exponents of planned error, the designers of misconceptions and heresy. The Orthodox Truth, nevertheless, coped with them through the sincere labors of her Teachers and Confessors, and with the authority of infallible definitions given at the Ecumenical Councils.

Truly, from the first to the seventh Ecumenical Council, and to the present day, the Orthodox Church, in her constant effort to keep the Faith in its pure entirety, has confronted diverse systems intending to distort the Christian Truth. She met those who attempted to separate the religious truth from revelation and mystery. She was brought face to face with rationalists, materialists, atheists, and all their associates who consider themselves infallible in their reasoning, and who think that it is possible to disprove the meaning of the Gospel. They are the very same people who took steps to convince others that the Christian Religion is just a tale based on falsehood, that revelation is fabricated, that the Bible is spurious, the Church meaningless, the Holy Trinity is

a stumbling block and folly, and that the Incarnation of the Son of God and His Theandric properties, together with His Virgin Birth and Resurrection from the dead, are mere inventions and wishful thinking, or symbolic fantasies of the mind.

In spite of all these negative attitudes, the Orthodox Truth was neither ruined nor distorted. Guarded by Divine Grace, it remained integral and undefiled, both in its theoretical and in its practical aspects. The Church, though persecuted, was able to keep the Faith as a practical form in her mode of life, and in the blood of martyrdom, while the theoretical coherence of the Faith was safeguarded in the Creeds, definitions, art, and all the Sacred writings of the Holy Fathers. It was with these means that the Orthodox Church answered error and repulsed perversion and heresy, succeeding in preserving all that was handed down from the beginning by Christ and the Apostles. The miraculous safeguarding of the Christian Truth and its transmission unto us in blameless purity is indeed the work of the right hand of the Almighty. We consider it, however, an indication of the Lord's favor toward our Fathers, and to us who constitute His Church, that He entrusted unto us the Christian Faith, to know and keep, to protect and transmit.

The Martyrs and Confessors, the Teachers and Theologians of the Church are our Fathers. The fervor of their Faith still remains with us. Their traditions and their thoughts are living in our lives. We still reiterate their prayers and commemorate their passing into the realm of the Triumphant Church. We still observe their customs and venerate and honor their icons. We remain loyal to the heritage received by them from Christ and for which they fought the good fight, sacrificing their lives. We are the Church they honored and glorified, the Church that the Lord secured with His Blood.

Gladly, therefore, we ask those who doubt this, to come and examine the Orthodox Faith. They will find that this Faith is the same as it was yesterday, and as it was proclaimed by Christ. They will see that the Orthodox Truth is whole and integral and needs nothing to complete itself, neither the deceptive brightness of what is transient, nor the unstable extremes of what is in opposition to freedom or to the validity of authority. The Church became well-acquainted with these extremes of the past and those of today. Her sight is well-trained in discerning the essence and the age of such views. It suffices to place their content before the criterion of the Christian tradition or under the spectrum of the light of the Logos, for thus, the origin and the content of all these views immediately become evident, and the intentions of those who advocate them become clear.

There are some who wonder why other groups conceive theories and produce intellectual systems which provoke the thinking and interest of many. There are some who say, "Why do we not demonstrate similar inventiveness and theoretical fecundity?" In response to this question, the following parable may offer some light:

First of all, how do those who live within the limits of their city see it? Naturally, they see their city as it is. Those, however, who are outside attempt to imagine the city, and in doing so, they are bound to proceed from description to description. Yet, one may see how they differ from each other and how far they are from reality, which is known only to the city dwellers. It is possible that the outsiders may borrow information from those who left the city, especially from those that have been banished or punished for traitorous actions. The information, therefore, that these outcasts may offer contains the seeds of prejudice and inaccuracy. Thus inaccuracies beget other inaccuracies, fantasies, and errors. Only those who reside in the city know exactly what is in the city. And since they know it, why should they engage in futile imaginings and endless speculations? Since they know the realities, why should they invent theories? Since they know that the subject and meaning are clear to them, why should they venture in dubious and dangerous suppositions?

But it is the duty of the city dwellers to study and know thoroughly the city in all its forms and aspects. For the more they know, the greater is their love and appreciation of it, and thus they more effectively influence others to enter their city as unprejudiced and naturalized citizens.

It is the duty of all Orthodox Christians, on the one hand, to honor the city which is the Orthodox Faith and to study its depth and breadth; and, on the other hand, to practice its precepts and laws, thus showing through their way of life the coherence of the doctrinal beauty of Orthodoxy. Only this way will prove the truth of our Faith, and only thus can we contribute to the extension of its boundaries, offering all others attractive opportunities to realize that it is to their benefit to seek entrance and to unite with those who enjoy the Grace and the Truth of the Faith.

† BISHOP ATHENAGORAS



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THE ORTHODOX YOUTH AND THE ECUMENICAL MOVEMENT

By VASIL T. ISTAVRIDIS

The Ecumenical Movement, as the conscience of the gap which divides the Churches, and as an endeavor to the fulfilment and cure of this chasm through the efforts both in the field of theory and that of practice, is continuously advancing in our days. In the past the majority of the Orthodox Churches have, within the limits of their power, responded to the invitation for an interchurch and inter-Christian contact and cooperation. Up to 1948 all Orthodox Churches, except the troubled Russian Orthodox, had been participating in the Ecumenical Movement. The decision, which was taken in 1948, about having no participation or cooperation of the Orthodox Churches behind the iron curtain with the World Council of Churches must be familiar to many. Yet the remaining Orthodox Churches still follow the former line of action.

The Orthodox Youth that stands on the side of the Mother Church has followed her example. A long series of events, cases, and instances can demonstrate the work which the Orthodox Youth has done in this respect. A brief listing of these would be of value.

If, on the one hand, we consider the Ecumenical Movement, in its broader sense, as an inter-Christian cooperation, and if, on the other, in its limited sense, we consider it as an inter-Orthodox cooperation, it wouldn't be difficult to look for and find the contribution of the Orthodox Youth in both of these forms of cooperation.

The Ecumenical Movement, as it has frequently been stated, does not represent only the two movements — that of Faith and Order and that of Life and Work; neither does it represent the World Council of Churches only. It is considered to be much more than that. It is possible to say that it includes all activities — individual, group, and ecclesiastical — towards a religious and ecclesiastical cooperation. Thus the history of Ecumenical relations deals with the work of World Youth Organizations and youth movements such as that of YMCA, YWCA, SCM, WSCF, and others.

These movements and organizations originated in Protestant coun-

tries and found expression as Protestant movements and organizations, having Protestant ideals. Gradually, though, as these were transplanted to Orthodox countries of pure Orthodox tradition they had to adapt themselves to that environment. The mistrust which the Orthodox felt for anything that had to do with Protestantism, because of the proselytism which was practiced among them, existed and had to be overcome.

John Mott worked more than anybody else for the foundation of branches of the above organizations in the countries of the East. During the first world war, through the coming of armies from the West and America to the Eastern countries of Europe, branches of Christian Youth Organizations were established, especially those of the YMCA, which continued their work even in later years.

The convocation of the World Conference of the World Student Christian Federation in 1911 in Constantinople, which received the blessings of the Ecumenical Patriarch Joakim the Third, also owes its existence to the initiative of John Mott. The name of Archimandrite Germanos Strenopulos, Dean of the Theological School of Halki, who later became Metropolitan of Thyateira in London, is connected with this conference. John Mott with some other representatives visited the School of Halki where they were warmly welcomed. This conference, which was an important one of the time (1911), brought together at the center of Orthodoxy members of the Greek Orthodox, Syrian, Armenian, Coptic, Protestant, and the Roman Catholic Churches. In addition, it brought to the proscenium the names of some of the great subsequent Ecumenical theologians. The founding of organizations for young men and women in Orthodox or Orthodox-inhabited countries, such as Russia, Poland, the Balkans, the Ottoman Empire, and later the Turkish Republic, was the means through which the members of these organizations learned how to cooperate in the religious, educational, social, and athletic fields. The leaders of these associations avoided the practice of proselytism and thus won the trust of the Orthodox, young and old alike. Even today these organizations continue working, especially in our places.

Since 1939 Orthodox young men and women, either as representatives of their Churches or of the Orthodox Youth Movement, have been attending conferences of Christian Youth and others which were held under the auspices of the Ecumenical Movement and later of the World Council of Churches in cooperation with other Youth Organizations.

People of the Ecumenical Movement were aware of the very important role of Christian Youth in the field of Church or any other cooperation. In the first World Conference of Life and Work at

Stockholm (1925), a Youth Commission was already established, which, having been enlarged afterwards, got the name of Ecumenical Youth Commission.

This Commission together with the other three Youth Movements mentioned above, and other bodies, called the World Conference of Christian Youth at Amsterdam in 1939, not long before the outbreak of World War II. The presence of the Orthodox at this conference was quite evident. Numerically, they exceeded all other Orthodox representations in Ecumenical Movement conferences.

The Holy Eucharist of the Orthodox was performed separately in accordance with the tradition of the Orthodox, Anglican, Lutheran, and the Reformed Churches. This more or less continues to be so up to the present at meetings of similar nature. The Orthodox expressed their opinion on subjects under discussion, of a dogmatic nature, such as those of the Church, and on practical matters, such as those of the family and others.

After the close of the second world war and during the meeting of the Provisional Committee in 1946, the founding of the Youth Department of the WCC was decided upon, and this Department still exists and functions helpfully. The Department together with the other Youth Organizations co-established the World Christian Youth Commission. Young men and women of the Orthodox faith participate in the Working Committee of the Youth Department of the WCC and cooperate in all the fields of activity of this Department — in youth conferences, in publications, in work camps in Orthodox countries and elsewhere, or in the youth projects. By the Youth Department of the WCC and the other Youth Organizations, two other World Youth Conferences were called — one at Oslo in 1947, the other at Cottayam, Travancore, of South India, in 1952, both of which were attended by Orthodox representatives. At this point it is worth mentioning the position offered to Christian Youth, including Orthodox representatives during the two World Conferences of the WCC, the first at Amsterdam in 1948 and the second at Evanston in 1954.

In April, 1955, under the auspices of the Youth Department of the WCC, the Consultation of Christian Youth Leaders of the Near and Middle East was called in Beirut, Lebanon. In this Consultation, besides the representatives of the Ancient Churches of the East, of the Anglican, and the Evangelical-Protestant, there were Orthodox representatives of Christian Youth of the Churches and Youth Organizations of Constantinople, Antioch, Jerusalem, Cyprus, and Greece, as well as of the Russian Diaspora of Europe. The Orthodox representatives

after the close of the conference discussed their particular problems and conferred on the possibilities and ways of closer cooperation.

Speaking of the Consultation in Beirut, we should favorably mention the Orthodox Youth Movement in Syria and Lebanon, which, among others, favorably works for the strengthening of relations of the Youth of other Churches in that section, and especially within the Christian Youth Federation of Syria and Lebanon.

The WCC through its other divisions offers to the Orthodox Youth the means for cooperation in Christ. Besides the Youth Department, the Division of Inter-Church Aid and Service to Refugees and the Ecumenical Institute of Bossey hold an outstanding position. The support, both financial and material, which the WCC offers through the bodies mentioned above to Orthodox Theological Schools, the scholarships available to Orthodox Youth for further studies in foreign countries, and the work of the Ecumenical Institute, in general, help for the strengthening of mutual relations. In addition to the work done by the World Youth Organizations and the specific work accomplished by the Ecumenical Movement and the WCC, we can also find other phases and expressions of cooperation of the Orthodox Youth with other Christians.

The work done in Orthodox Theological Schools, such as that of Halki, of the University of Athens and Salonika, of Paris and America, stands out. Young men coming from different Orthodox Churches, the Ancient Eastern Churches, as well as from the sister Churches of the West, study in these schools. Living together, praying together, understanding each other, and studying courses, especially those of the History of the Orthodox Autocephalous and the Ancient Eastern Churches, of the Reformation of the West, and of the Ecumenical Movement, accordingly, prepare the future workers for strengthening and improving Church relations.

The Orthodox Churches in Diaspora, too, have been working beneficially in the field under consideration. In the West appeared the Orthodox Institute of St. Sergius in Paris, St. Alban's and St. Sergius' Brotherhood in England, the different Movements of Orthodox Youth and Syndesmos, which offer services to the coordination of the work of Orthodox Movements and Youth Groups. In America, outside of the Theological Schools, that of Holy Cross Greek Orthodox in Brookline, and the Russian, St. Vladimir's, in New York, Orthodox youth organizations, such as GOYA and others, function beneficially.

In America and Europe, almost in all universities where there are Orthodox students, Orthodox clubs have been organized whose advisers are local Orthodox priests. These clubs, through the practice of the Orthodox Holy Worship, through lectures and other consultations and social occupations, work for the strengthening of the Orthodox faith and for mutual understanding among their members. The life of Orthodox students in foreign universities, in general, proves fruitful for the Orthodox as well as for the idea of making new acquaintances and for the reinforcement of the bonds of love and brotherhood.

Closing the historical part of the present work, one should make note of the place of St. Paul's festival which took place in Greece in 1951. In these feasts representatives of the different Churches of the world, of universities, and of various professions, as well as members of different Youth Movements, both Orthodox and non-Orthodox, were present. During these ceremonies the representatives of the Orthodox Movements had a chance to confer once more on the manner of more direct cooperation and the coordination of their effort. The contribution of the Youth Organizations in Greece has been considerable.

* * *

The beginnings of cooperation, in its broader sense, of the Orthodox Youth within the Ecumenical Movement in recent years are based on certain presuppositions. Certain of these, as in every historical manifestation, were from the very beginning known to or existed in the subconscious of the Orthodox pioneers who took part in the activities mentioned above. Yet the passage of time and the occurrence of particular circumstances and conditions demanded an analogous confrontation. In this way, the experience of the Orthodox Youth grew and became richer.

Of the factors which played the primary role in the definition of the relations of the Orthodox Youth in the Ecumenical Movement, the most important, in the view, of this writer, to be considered are the psychology of the youth and the attachment of youth to the traditions of the Mother Church. Youth is characterized by its instinctiveness and strong feelings of love, of easy acquaintance, of mutual understanding, and cooperation. Because of this, the Orthodox Youth, to a greater degree than their elders, was able to disperse the clouds of distrust existing among Christians and could prepare the appropriate grounds for cooperation. We all know the importance of this factor, the so-called Ecumenical environment or Ecumenical atmosphere. Just the existence and the development of the favorable and suitable Ecumenical ground through the expulsion of intolerance, provincialism, and distrust is sufficient to show the significance of the "Ecumenical Phenomenon" or the "Ecumenical Reality." And the Christian Youth truly deserves con-

gratulations for its contribution to the development of this appropriate environment.

Another factor, as has already been mentioned, is the attachment of the Orthodox Youth to the principles and traditions of the Mother Church. No matter in which country he may happen to be living or whatever Orthodox Church he may belong to, the Orthodox well knows that he is the inheritor of a glorious past and that he is summoned to continue the life, faith, and ideals of the One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church, which for twenty centuries has continued to exist and function in this world. This form of thinking and faith of the Orthodox Youth is due to his religious education which he receives in the Orthodox family, in the Church, and at school. In the Orthodox and other countries, where the Orthodox can freely offer to their children at school and in their churches the catechetical and religious courses, the education of Orthodox youth continues to be traditional. This work is also supported by the powerful Orthodox Youth Organizations of Greece, Syria, Lebanon, Western Europe, Finland, and America. In other countries, though, where the religious and catechetical education of Orthodox youth is forbidden, the extra load falls upon the Orthodox family and the Church through her preaching. In such places materialism and paganism stand up against the religious education of the Orthodox youth. Of course, materialism, paganism, and the spirit of this century are to be found throughout the world, and the proper and appropriate confrontation is demanded. The subject of the education of the Orthodox youth as a whole is beyond the scope of this study. It is possible to say that cooperation of the Orthodox youth with the youth of other faiths has been complete and continuous, and this is how it should be as long as there are no dogmatic bases involved and no harm affecting our Church.

In the years during which the Ecumenical Movement was at its beginning, branches of the World Youth Organizations were being established in Orthodox countries of the East, to which branches Orthodox youth were applying for membership. Chronologically Orthodox youth has come in contact with people of other faiths on the rather practical field, earlier than the Mother Church with those of different faiths in the Ecumenical Movement.

But, as among the heterodox, in the Orthodox Youth Movements as well, we, for the first time, come across the names of different outstanding Orthodox personalities who were later to offer their valuable service to the field of the Ecumenical Movement. The same is true for today.

The discussions and consultations of the Orthodox Youth Organizations testify for the special interest which exists in all Orthodox Youth Movements, aiming towards a better application of the ways of cooperation and fellowship in all fields. As another example demonstrating the significance which the Ecumenical Movement has for our youth, the fervent zeal of the students of our Theological Schools for the fullest understanding of cases related to the Ecumenical Movement and for the course of the history of this Movement should be mentioned. The way in which the students follow the different publications of the Ecumenical Movement, their study, their papers related to it, and their questions, are a few of the proofs of their interest, which, after their graduation, cannot but broaden more and more through the leading part which they will play among the Orthodox youth during their ecclesiastical diaconia in the future. In respect to this particular point, I have in mind the School of Halki, but I am also sure that the same holds true for the other Theological Schools as well.

The Youth Department of the WCC, like the previous one in the Ecumenical Movement, aims for a cooperation not only of the youth of those Churches which are members of the WCC, but also with the different Youth Organizations of Churches which for some reason or other are not in the WCC. The same is true for Orthodox Churches as well. As an example we can mention the presence in the first World Conference of the WCC in Amsterdam, 1948, of young men among the delegates, young men from the Patriarchate of Antioch, which at the time was not represented at the conference, and from the Church of Finland. Thus we see that the cooperation of Orthodox youth in the Ecumenical Movement appears not only chronologically earlier, but occasionally appears beyond the areas of the official cooperation of Churches. The Church and the Orthodox Youth constitute one whole which functions for the same aim — that of sustaining the religious principles and the ideals of Orthodoxy.

Regardless as to whether all Orthodox Churches participate today in the WCC or not, and regardless of the continuing discussions of the different problems of principles and attitudes of the Orthodox towards this Council, we feel that the Ecumenical Movement should stop being considered by the Orthodox as the occupation of only certain specialists and some theologians, but should, on the contrary, be sensed as an idea and an experience by a broader circle of our Church members.

At this point we feel that the local Orthodox Youth Organizations can play an important part as such. The continuous cooperation through proper preparation and study, and through setting the right example, should not stop but continue at a greater pace, and should be broadened.

The necessity and promotion of unity among the sister Orthodox Churches constitutes one of the important aims of local Orthodox Churches. The Orthodox Youth Movements of all places, too, through the cooperation among themselves and service to common ideals, contribute a great deal to the Mother Churches. This cooperation can be practiced in varied forms, such as the coordination of the work of Youth Movements through the Syndesmos, conferences, visits, the exchange of students, the organization of festivals, and through publications. This cooperation may include all the Youth Movements of the East, even more—all the Christian Groups, as it is, in the Youth Department of the WCC.

Orthodox youth, within the limits of its potentialities, of course, can aid the work of the Mother Church in all fields, particularly in the proper placement of the Orthodox within the Ecumenical Movement and the WCC. For this, an indispensable factor happens to be the growth of youth in accordance with the Orthodox traditions, the Orthodox conscience of its members, and the further application of the principles of Christian ethics and Christian love in everyday life. Knowledge of our faith, application of the principles of Christian ethics in life, and the centrality of love should be the symbols for our future activities.

THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL OF HALKI



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PHILOSOPHICAL AND METAPHYSICAL BASIS OF ICON VENERATION IN THE EASTERN ORTHODOX CHURCH

By JOHN PAPAJOHN

The painting of icons in the Eastern Orthodox Church has become a medium through which both a basic world outlook is expressed and a strong dogmatic faith attested to. On the one hand, these icons are exponents of a definite philosophy of the nature of the world, and on the other, they are doctrinal monuments. Only if one looks at them in the light of this fact can be come to a full understanding of them.

The conception of art which icon painting presupposes, of course, is symbolic. According to this conception, the purpose of art is not to create something out of nothing, but to give artistic witness to what already exists — it is not meant to create realities but the images of realities. A material basis, however, is required for the embodiment of these images which are distinguished from the actual objects themselves.

It must not be misunderstood that the function of artistic images is to copy, to reproduce certain objects of reality so as to achieve a complete illusion. This conception of art can be traced to naturalism and does not take into account the creative mission of art. The purpose of art is to produce the ideal form of the object, the primordial idea of the object. Bulgakov in his treatise, "Religion and Art," expresses this idea very effectively: "Art is of positive value if, through the medium of human subjectivity the things of this world come to be clearly seen in it, and that, not in their empirical being, but in their ideal ground. Artistic images are but ideas which have become transparent." 1

Before proceeding to a consideration of the philosophical and metaphysical basis of icon veneration, something should first be mentioned about the reproaches often hurled against the Church to the effect that she has returned to heathen ways and restored idolatry. It is implied that the teaching of the Church on icons is a heathen product and does not differ much from the conception which the ancient Greeks had of idols and idol worship. There is no need to deny that the foremost exponents of Orthodox teaching on icons, St. John of Damascus and St. Theodore of Studium, were influenced by the Platonic and

¹ S. Bulgakov, "Religion and Art," The Church of God, ed. S. P. C. K. (London: L. Mascall, 1934), p. 180.

Neo-platonic world outlook. It would be paradoxical if they were not, since they lived in a period when the dominant philosophy was still Hellenistic. With this fact in mind we might quickly review what the belief of the Greeks on images actually was.

First of all, it should be stressed that it is not possible that the Greeks ever conceived of the deity worshiped as simply the image they saw before them and nothing more. They did not believe that the image was really alive, nor did they actually identify the image with a god; but rather they thought of the god as in some sense animating all the consecrated images there might be of him in different places. "To the Greeks and Romans of the days when the ancient culture was at its highest, the actual identification of an image with a god was an idea which could only be entertained by the educated as a jest." Thus, Plutarch warns against the common mode of speech by which the image is identified with the god. "Amongst the Greeks there were those who beheld representations of the gods in bronze or in stone or in painting and, through lack of knowledge and education, fell to calling such images 'gods' instead of saying 'images' or symbols of gods." 8 Of course, it has to be conceded that many peasants conceived of the animation of the idols in its most realistic sense, and to this can be attributed the protest against images which can be detected as early as the sixth century B. C., and which was taken up with renewed vigor by Christian writers of the second and third centuries A.D. It was necessary, therefore, for Dio Chrysostom and Maximus of Tyre, two writers of popular philosophy in the second century A. D., to offer a philosophic defense for the making of images. In their defense, they had not only the protests of Christian writers in mind, but those raised by Greek philosophers themselves.

Their main argument for the defense is that images are a concession to the weakness of man. They make no mention of the idea that the image is identical with the deity. The best worship, of course, says Maximus, is that in which the mind is elevated without the assistance of any visible image, but unfortunately only a few are capable of it. Dio says that the main function of images, which makes their use imperative, is that they give to the worshiper the sense of intimate nearness to God and are the satisfaction of the human craving to touch. Although God can be viewed in the wonders of nature all about us, in the sky and in the stars, He is still far away. An image, which is a symbol, brings God nearer. Furthermore, Dio says, an image in human

² Edwyn Bevan, Images (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd.), p. 23.

³ Ibid.

form is the least inadequate symbol possible for men, for man is more like God than any other visible being on earth. Dio also develops at this point a Stoic view of the nature of man, when he says that although God does not have a body like a man's, man's soul is of the same nature as God's. Therefore, an image in human form should be considered the best symbol of God, since it is the vehicle and index of the soul. Bulgakov expresses this same view but gives it a Christian content.

The theory of Plotinus on images should next be considered because he, without a doubt more than any other Greek philosopher, must have influenced the thinking of St. Theodore of Studium, one of the foremost exponents of Orthodox teachings on icons. Plotinus adumbrated an entirely different theory of the purpose of an image which makes of the image much more than a mere symbol that brings a certain truth about the universe to the mind of one who looks at it. Edwyn Bevan, in the following words, gives a very succinct and rounded account of Plotinus' theory:

"What Plotinus indeed does is to build on the popular view which makes the deity actually come to inhabit the image and give a refined and philosophic version of it. The purpose of an image is to enable the worshiper to come into real contact with the World Soul. Of course, the World Soul cannot be supposed to come down itself into the bit of matter constituing the image (κατελθεῖν εἰς τοῦτο). Yet, particular material things have a quality which attracts the World Soul by a kind of sympathy. And one thing which gives a material thing such a quality is its likeness or in some way, an invitation (ὁπωσοῦν μμηθέν) of the soul. It is then analogous to a mirror which captures the form of a visible object (ἀρπάσαι είδος τὶ δυνάμενον), although the visible object does not itself enter into the mission." 4

A study of St. Theodore's three treatises on the subject of the icons, Antirrhetici adversus Iconomachus, will reveal immediately that what he has done is to take the Neo-platonic category, mentioned above, and give it a Christian content with certain modifications. The place of the World Soul is taken by the Incarnate Logos. It seems almost superfluous to mention that this fact is no basis to condemn St. Theodore's teaching as sheer Neo-platonism, any more than we can condemn St. Thomas Aquinas as an Aristotelian pagan philosopher.

St. Theodore's teaching can be taken as representing the contemporary doctrine of the Orthodox Church. In his treatises against the iconoclasts, St. Theodore deals primarily with two main issues: the Incarnation and the nature of the relation of an icon to its original. The

⁴ Ibid, p. 75.

charges of the iconoclast, which St. Theodore set out to refute, were, first of all, that it is heretical to depict Christ by an icon because, since He is the Incarnate Logos, any artificial image could succeed only in circumscribing His human nature which would lead people to a Nestorian's conception of Christ; and secondly, that it was idolatrous to worship images because they had no inherent grace, and, consequently, the only purpose they should serve should be didactical. The latter was the real problem of image worship. Theodore goes back to the method of St. John of Damascus and upholds philosophically the doctrine that the images convey grace. As regards the relation of the image of Christ and Christ Himself, Theodore teaches, that although they are obviously different in nature (κατὰ φύσιν), the use of the same for both indicates some kind of identity. (This view certainly would lead one to believe that St. Theodore was a nominalist, but when his teaching is fully expounded, it will be seen that he was definitely a realist.) The image cannot be separated from the original. The Son is the image of the Father, and the original is venerated in Him; in the same way, the picture is the image of the Son and cannot be separated from its original. The veneration of the image is veneration of Christ because the image is what it is in virtue of the likeness to Christ. Οὕτω δὲ ὄντος τοῦ πράγματος καὶ ἐν δυάδι κειμένου τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ μία ὁμοίωσις προσηγορία. οίον φέρει είπειν ότι βασιλεύς λέγεται και του βασιλέως είκων και οὐ δύο βασιλεῖς.) ⁵ Christ being the Prototype of His image, His relation (ἐμφέρεια) to it is single, as is also His worship. The relation of the image to the prototype, and the one adoration to both, is illustrated by sayings from the Fathers, especially Basil and Dionysius, to the latter of whom are attributed the words: "The true in the semblance, the archetype in the image, each in each according to the difference in substance."

The intimate relation between archetype and copy, however, does not amount to identity of nature of substance but involves complete resemblance. Τὸ πρωτότυπον καὶ ἡ εἰκὼν ἔν μέν ἐστι τῆ ὑποστατικῆ ὁμοιώσει δύο δὲ τῆ φύσει. Τhe original and the picture are not separable in person (ὑποστατικῶς) but only in their substance (τῷ τῆς οὐσίας λόγῳ). "This view is simply that a picture or image itself carries the nature of the original. Externally and accidentally the two are separate but actually and spiritually they are one. The person of Christ is not divided and another person (ὑπόστασις) given Him in His image. Christ is venerated and the image is named Christ metaphorically." To refuse to

⁵ Migne, Patrologia Curcus Completus, Series Graeca, Vol. XCIX, 428.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Edward J. Martain, A History of the Iconoclastic Controversy.

venerate an icon thus becomes equal to the refusal to venerate Christ. "Ης [εἰκόνος] μὴ προσκυνουμένης ἀνήρηται ὡσαύτως καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ προσκύνησις.8

Although he regards the image as being identified with Christ, it must be stressed that he does not regard the image of Christ as actually made into God — τη τοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰχόνι οὐ λατρευτόν. It is not the wood, paint, and other material which are venerated but the thing signified. Οὐ ἡ τῆς εἰκόνος οὐσία προσκυνεῖται ἀλλὰ ὁ ἐν αὐτῆ ἀποσφραγισθεὶς χαρακτήρ τοῦ πρωτοτύπου . . . ἀπροσκυνήτου μέν οὖσης τῆς εἰκονικῆς οὐσίας.) 10

As regards the charges of the iconoclasts in relation to the Incarnation, St. Theodore argues from the Orthodox position that the assumption of humanity by Christ involved the assumption of a body with all necessary human attributes.

Since Christ was not only God but man also, it is possible that He could be depicted in an icon. Though God remains uncircumscribed, yet the Incarnate Christ is circumscribed. The Manichean doctrine of an incorporeal Christ is condemned. In answer to the argument of the iconoclasts that Christ was not a man but man, St. Theodore answers that, granted that was the case, Christ was still visible and circumscribed and so capable of being depicted. He stresses that it is the essence of the Incarnation that matter is not derogatory to the nature of God. In the second statement of the Antirrhetici (III), he establishes that Christ has an artificial image — the word (εἰκών) here having the general sense of bodily form and not that of "image" in particular. Οτι περιγραφόμενος δ Χριστός έχει τεχνητήν είκόνα έφη θεωρείται, ως καὶ αὐτῆ ἐν Χριστῷ. 11 A form of similitude may be natural or artificial. The Divine similitude of Christ belongs to Him through His Divine Father. The human similitude, by virtue of which He can be presented to human sense, comes from His human Mother. Suffering humanity involves earthly properties and images.

It is not difficult to detect the Platonic and Neo-platonic influence in St. Theodore's thought. George Wunderle, in his scholarly treatise on the holy icons, writes: "Thus through holy arts the way is laid out which Plato had already sketched out, the way to the beholding of the eternal idea of the true being. For the idea, the eldos, is not only the goal of an ordinary striving — rather especially ὅντως ὄν." 12

⁸ Op. cit., p. 505.

⁹ Op. cit., p. 161.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, p, 420.

 ¹¹ Op. cit., p. 417.
 12 George Wunderle, Um die Seele der heiligen Ikomen, Heft 3, Rita-Verlag und Druckerei, Würzburg, 1937, p. 23.

The idea that the copy actually exists in the prototype — that the Holy Icon partakes in the living being of the prototype, in so far as it expresses or represents it in a visible way — is of course Platonism.

It should be noted that the word "transparence" is not adequate to express this Platonic and Neo-platonic view. It is apt to lead to a misunderstanding as it tends to depress the artistic quality of the icon as such and to give the mistaken notion that the artistic work is done only for a certain effect. It should be stressed that the human artistic creation has a definite representative function, which does not consist only in acting as a transparent medium for something mystical or metaphysical to shine through. The metaphysical world does not open itself on the occasion of the beholding of the icon — rather is it presented before the eyes by the icon.

To quote George Wunderle again: "Just as the Platonic theory of ideas, the world of the είδη is the true reality, so also in the representation of *Nous*, the Godlike realm, is the reality that is really sought after. The perceptible object is not reduced to a mere inferior reflection (μέθεξις, κοινωνία) in the idea." ¹⁸

When St. Theodore speaks of an eixów in the sense that it is the "bodily form" of Christ, undoubtedly he has in mind the teaching of Plato who always stressed that the corporal, material, is an expression of the spiritual. Especially, for Plato, is this true about creations of art, which together with all other objects of the material world, are defined by the idea of those which exist in the spiritual world. The material of the icon, paint, wood, and such, correspondingly, is like a shell or receptacle which contains in a specific sense the Divinity.

We found this same idea in the thought of Dio who, in his defense of images, says that an image in human form is an adequate symbol of God, since man's soul is of the same nature as God's and, therefore, His body is the vehicle of the soul. This is a Stoic view. Bulgakov elaborates at length on this same idea. He refers to the body as the "form" and the natural "eikon" of the spirit.¹⁴

That certain unification and mystical deification of the transcendent reality which St. Theodore describes as shining from the icon reminds us, certainly, of the Neo-platonic "sympathy" of all things upon which conception, as we saw in the theory of Plotinus, the veneration of images was based in pagan times.

George Wunderle makes a distinction between the Platonic and Neo-platonic interpretation of icons: "Completely Neo-platonic is the interpretation of *Nous* which very one sidedly stresses the symbolism of

¹³ Ibid., p. 26.

¹⁴ Op. cit., p. 187.

the art. I believe that the Platonic interpretation of icons expresses the meaning and, therefore, the living soul of Holy pictures better. The mystical character of icons is in no sense diminished; just the opposite they are given a suitable, and free from any pantheistic, influence basis in the Incarnation of the Logos as the visible reflection of God." ¹⁵

Bulgakov's thinking along this same line must be considered so that it can be seen how a contemporary Orthodox theologian related St. Theodore's teaching of the meaning of icons to the central doctrine of the Incarnation. In answer to the old question as to whether or not a pictorial representation of the Man-Jesus is also an image of God-the-Word, he points out that since man was created by God in God's image, the image of God and the image of man are not dissimilar from one another. This means that every human image participates in the Divine image, however weak and dim this participation be made by sin. In Emmanuel, the new Adam, we see for the first time the glory of the true Divine image unsullied by sin. The perfect God became the perfect man, and the image of Emmanuel — God and man — is the only identical image of both God and man. Just as Christ has one hypostasis, He also has one image according to the decision of the seventh Ecumenical Council. "In the image of Christ is hidden the Divine image of God the Word, and this unity of image is the dogmatic answer to doubts concerning the reproduction of Christ in an icon." 16

Finally, it should be mentioned that a portrait of Christ, or of the saints, does not become an "icon" in the sense taught by St. Theodore until it has been consecrated by the Church. Only when the Church through this consecration testifies to the correlation of an icon with the image of Christ is it established as a true "eikon." Without this act of consecration, the reproduction remains only a religious picture.

In conclusion, it should be noted that the high evaluation which the Orthodox Church places on icons can be found in her desire to take the whole man, his sensual as well as his intellectual aspect, into an experience of salvation. It is here that the permeating power of the spiritual existence of the Eastern Church is revealed. The basis for this might be found in the ancient Greek mystery cults which considered the culmination of the cult experience not a hearing of words but an actual vision of divinity revealing itself.

HOLY CROSS
GREEK ORTHODOX THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL

¹⁵ Op. cit., p. 28.

¹⁶ Op. cit., p. 188.



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THE RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE OF BYZANTINE SIGILLOGRAPHY¹

By JOHN E. REXINE

A rich and rewarding field of inquiry that is little known to theologians, yet of considerable value in measuring the impact of Christianity on the Byzantine world, is the field of sigillography and its sister discipline, numismatics. Both these areas, related closely to each other, as they most certainly and most clearly are, are generally called ancillary sciences because they are of considerable value as tools for throwing light on other areas of research. The field of numismatics is perhaps better known than the field of sigillography. Both these fields have been called areas of "minor art" because of the nature of the objects that they study. Both Byzantine coins and seals are of the utmost importance as remarkable examples of the role that Christian Orthodoxy played in the life of the Byzantine Christian, down to the very coins and seals that the individual Christian utilized in his everyday life. The coins and seals, as objects of minor art and as objects of everyday use, manifest most clearly and convincingly their importance as symbols, religious as well as secular symbols of both secular and religious authority.

In this short paper (which in no way attempts to be exhaustive but merely suggestive), an attempt will be made to call to the attention of the reader the religious significance of Byzantine seals. The coins will

¹ The main sources used for this paper are as follows: Warwick Wroth, Catalogue of the Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum in two volumes, London, 1908; Gustave Schlumberger, Sigillographie de l'Empire Byzantin, Paris, 1884; V. Laurent, La Collection C. Orghidan, Paris, 1952; K. Konstantopoulos, Βυζαντιακὰ Μολυβδόβουλλα, Athens, 1917. Also useful are A. Mordtmann, Jr., Sur les sceaux et plombs Byzantins, Conference tenue dans la Societé litteraire grecque, Constantinople, 1873; J. Sabatier, Iconographie d'une collection choisie de cinq mille medailles romaines, byzantines et celtbériennes, St. Petersburg, 1847-1860, is old and less valuable, though occasionally useful for our purposes. I must also here acknowledge my sincere thanks to the staff of the American Numismatic Society of New York, where I had the privilege of being a Graduate Fellow from Harvard University during the Society's Summer Seminar in Numismatics in 1955, for their tireless efforts in assisting me in my researches on Byzantine coins and seals.

not be treated here. In making our generalizations, we shall rely upon the evidence of the seals themselves, and, in the case of this writer, on the evidence of first-hand contact with the seals in the collection of the American Numismatic Society of New York City.²

In turning to Byzantine sigillography, we must acknowledge certain facts. Generally speaking, the subject of Byzantine sigillography is a difficult one and incomplete in view of the disintegrating tendency of the seals themselves, their immense number, and their almost complete lack of publication in some cases. Father V. Laurent, Director of the French Institute of Byzantine Studies in Paris, has long been engaged in the process of publishing a corpus of Byzantine seals. It is hoped that such a much needed corpus will materialize as it is really and sorely needed for the field of Byzantine sigillography. The collection of the American Numismatic Society, which I would estimate to be roughly around a thousand, has generally not been identified or properly labeled, so that it is extremely difficult, in fact, in some cases, hopeless, to work with the seals until correct identification has been established beyond any reasonable doubt.

It should be pointed out immediately that Byzantine seals are not impressions upon wax; rather they are impressions upon metal. Gold imperial seals are rare; in fact, they have almost totally disappeared from the sigillographic field. Schlumberger, in his fundamental work on Byzantine seals, knows of two or three silver seals, but names no gold seals. However, as in the case of silver seals, we know that they once existed. In the case of silver or gold, two thin discs were impressed with the obverse and the reverse design united with overturned edges. The space in between was filled with some sort of mastic to give the metal a thick, medallion-like appearance. A suspending cord ran through this space.⁴

The great bulk of the seals that have survived, including those in the collection of the American Numismatic Society, are of lead. The lead seals form a running commentary on the administrative history of the Empire. Two lead discs were put, one upon the other. Each had a groove along which the suspending cords were placed. They were struck or pressed between the two faces of the double matrix in which

² The American Numismatic Society, Broadway at 156th Street, in New York City, has the finest and largest collection of coins and seals in this country.

³ Gustave Schlumberger, Sigillographie de l'Empire Byzantin, Paris, 1884. Hereafter this work will be referred to as Schlumberger, Sigillographie.

⁴ Cf. Schlumberger, Sigillographie, pp. 1-14; O. M. Dalton, Byzantine Art and Archaeology, Oxford, 1911, pp. 630-637.

the design was engraved. It has been supposed that they were worked by handles on the analogy of wafering irons. Only a single such iron matrix has been apparently preserved.

The majority of the preserved seal specimens have been found at Constantinople. Others have been located at Smyrna, Beirut, Salonika, Athens, Naples, Palermo, and Carthage. The seals provide the historian as well as the theologian with a great number of names and information that are not always obtainable from the more endurable coins. In fact, it has been a truism of Byzantine sigillography that the seals constitute a running commentary on the texts of Constantine Porphyrogenitus's De Caerimoniis and Codinus's De Officiis. The bulk of the preserved seals are seals of officials of the imperial administrative service, the army, the Church, and private families of high reputation. Geography, history, prosopography, linguistics, and iconography are vividly outlined for us on the seals.

The most striking, the most obvious and fundamental characteristic of Byzantine seals, is their religious nature. It has been estimated that at least half of the seals known portray the Virgin Mary with or without the Christ Child. Next in order of frequency are the saints, with Saint Michael particularly prominent, followed by Saint Nicholas, the military Saints George, Demetrios, and the two Theodores, Saints Basil, John Chrysostom, John the Baptist, John the Evangelist, Peter, and Prokopios.

The next popular type after the various saints features the cross, the patriarchal cross with the double traverse standing upon steps — a type that appears quite frequently on coins. Figures of Christ follow, usually from the period of Nikephoros Phokas, John Tzimiskes, Basıl II, and Constantine XI. Less common, but found, are the Virgin together with Christ or the saints. Two or more saints together or religious scenes such as the Annunciation, Baptism, Presentation, Transfiguration, Crucifixion, Death, and Dormition of the Virgin, Daniel in the Lions' Den, also occur with varying frequency. Less frequent than the preceding is the occurrence of angels, of the Lamb, or members of the imperial family. Representations of animals and monsters also make their appearance on Byzantine seals. These include such animals as lions, wolves, leopards, hares, peacocks, pelicans, and others. The rarest of all is to find actual images or representations of the owners of the seals on the seals.

The most commonly used language on the epigraphy of the seals is Greek, though Latin is occasionally found in specimens of the preiconoclastic period, the later period of the Normans of Sicily, and Greek and Arabic on specimens of the twelfth century. The legends generally circle the figures. During the iconoclastic period, the commonly employed feature was the monogram, taking the form of the cross. The most common formulaic inscription found on seals, including those in the collection of the American Numismatic Society, take the form of Θεοτόκε (less frequently Κύριε) βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλφ . The τῷ σῷ δούλφ may be omitted and the name of the suppliant may be supplied in its place. The orthography varies, consistency of spelling not being strictly adhered to at all times on all specimens. In cases where the Θεοτόκε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλφ forms a monogram, the name of the owner of the seal is on the reverse. At later periods, where images appear on the seals, the formula is written out completely as part of the inscribed legend. The space filled by the titles tends to increase with the march of the centuries.

One of the most difficult problems in Byzantine sigillography is the fundamental business of chronology. The seals have generally been dated by the mention of historical persons, by their likeness to certain identifiable coins, and by the mention of place names. Instances of seals attached to documents are not common in view of the unhappy fact that the archives of the Byzantine Empire have almost all disappeared. Schlumberger tells us that four or five sealed documents have been preserved in the convent of Patmos and an unstated number at Naples, Bari, and La Cava.⁵

Generally speaking, we can identify the name when it is indicated in full no matter whether it is that of a corporation or an individual. Occasionally, the seal may bear no name, in which case it becomes most difficult, if not impossible, to identify. We have cases of seals where a saint is portrayed, a saint whose name corresponds to the name of the owner of the seal. In such cases, the patron saint is called upon to protect his suppliant namesake. It is a common thing for seals to become personified. The common formula is ἐγὼ σφραγίζω τὰς γραφάς of so and so, or τηςῶ or βεβαιῶ τὰς γραφάς of so and so. (Cf. the secreta tego of the Western Middle Ages.) From the eleventh century till the middle of the thirteenth, legends of questionable literary value appear on the seals in iambic trimeter.

An individual could, of course, have more than one seal, depending upon whether he had more than one office or whether he was acting as an official or a private individual.

Schlumberger, in his basic work on Byzantine seals, 6 classifies them

⁵ Schlumberger, Sigillographie, p. 74.

⁶ Schlumberger, Sigillographie, passim.

under five general categories which are as follows: 1. Geographical seals, covering the officials of themes, cities, monasteries, and the seals of Bishops; 2. seals of the Army and Navy; 3. seals of ecclesiastical officials; 4. seals of the "Civil Service"; 5. and seals of private families.

The seals are symbols of authority. This much is clearly evident. There is a tradition that the Byzantine emperors would not read the letters of Mohammed until he had a seal engraved and that it was only then that the Prophet had a seal engraved. The seal confirmed the official nature of the document concerned. We can see an example of the use of the seal in modern times in the Great Seal of the United States, whose keeper is the Secretary of State. The United States seal appears on many government documents and a reproduction of the seal is printed on every American dollar, guaranteeing, so to speak, the reliability of the issuing authority and showing that it is issued by proper authority. The Byzantine seal includes, most important of all, a religious as well as a secular guaranteeing authority.

Fifty years ago, George MacDonald in his book entitled Coin Types: Their Origin and Development⁸ proposed that coin types are derived from seal types. MacDonald even refers to the earliest coins as "sealed types." Examples of coins supporting MacDonald's arguments are found and are fully illustrated in various numismatic writings and need not be mentioned here. MacDonald asserts that originally a coin was simply a piece of sealed metal impressed with the emblem of the issuing city or of the responsible magistrate.

Byzantine coin types are paralleled by seal types. Heraldic emblems are present on Byzantine seals, though they are not paralleled completely by the coins (lions, wolves, griffins, eagles, winged oxen do not appear on coins). It is fairly obvious, even upon a cursory examination, that the largest number of seals is concerned with religious subjects which appear so frequently on parallel contemporary coins. The popularity of Christ and the Virgin on the coins is matched only by the priority in time and the greater frequency on seals. Schlumberger lists about fifty saints. During the iconoclastic period, figured representations disappeared from the seals just as from the coins. This is a case where the absence of certain features on the coins and seals indicates a major change in religious policy. The seal engravers had greater opportunity for artistic expression and variety. Coin types can be paral-

⁷ Cf. Robert S. Lopez, "Mohammed and Charlemagne: A Revision," Speculum, XVIII, 1943, 20-23.

⁸ George MacDonald, Coin Types: Their Origin and Development, Glasgow, 1905.

leled and are paralleled by seal types. An examination of the legends on coin types confirms, or at least tends to confirm, that they are related to seal types, if not directly derived from them. The coins are more conservative than the seals.

It would perhaps be appropriate at this point to cite some concrete examples of Byzantine seals from the collection of the American Numismatic Society in New York in order to illustrate more clearly the sort of thing that one is likely to run across on Byzantine seals. Of course, it would be ideal if the reader could see with his own eyes the specimens that are about to be described. Under the present circumstances, verbal description will have to suffice. The two examples that will be described here are from the tenth century. Both belong to the reign of Nikephoros Phokas⁹ (963-969) and are, in the opinion of this writer, the finest as well as the best preserved and most easily identifiable from the collection of the American Numismatic Society.

The first is a very beautiful seal, at least as beautiful as preserved seals can be. This particular seal is in the Abbott collection of the American Numismatic Society and is exactly paralleled by its numismatic counterpart. It corresponds to a gold nomisma (solidus) of Nikephoros Phokas II (Type I). On the obverse, we have the Virgin facing us, wearing the veil with four pellets in the form of a cross (::-), mantle with ::-, and tunic. On her right stands Nikephoros Phokas, bearded, wearing his crown cruciger, and a robe with a square pattern. The patriarchal cross stands between them and each holds it with the right hand. On the left of the Virgin is the M for Mήτηο; on the right Θ for Θ εοῦ. The legend circling above them reads: $+\Theta$ ΕΟΤΟC' b'H Θ ' hICHF' dESP'.

On the reverse of this seal, we have the bust of Christ facing us, wearing the tunic, mantle, and nimbus cruciger, with three pellets in each limb of the cross. His right hand is raised in benediction. In his left is the Book of Gospels. The legend reads + IhSXRS REX REGNANTIUM. The date is between 963 and 969.

The correspondence between the seal and the coin is so exact as to leave little doubt that there is a definite relationship between the seal types and the coin types. The religious influence on the seal is so obvious as to need no elaboration or comment.

⁹ Cf. A. A. Vasiliev, History of the Byzantine Empire, 324-1453, Madison, 1952, p. 300.

¹⁰ Consult Warwick Wroth, Catalogue of the Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum in two volumes, London, 1908, for examples.

Another larger seal from the reign of Nikephoros II, but strikingly similar to the earliest gold coinage of Nikephoros Phokas, is now cited from the American Numismatic Society collection. In this particular seal, Nikephoros is represented with Basil II, presumably indicating that it is Nikephoros's intention to be the protector and not the supplanter of Basil II. In this sample from the Newell Collection of the American Numismatic Society, the letters Φ OP of the word NIKE-PHOROS can be clearly made out on the obverse. The obverse shows a bust of Nikephoros on the left, bearded, facing, in a robe of lozenge pattern, and holding the patriarchal cross with the double traverse with his right hand. Nikephoros here wears the cruciger crown. Beside him, on the right, is Basil II, beardless, facing, in mantle and robe. He too wears the cruciger crown.

The reverse of this second seal shows the bust of Christ, bearded, facing, wearing a tunic, mantle, and nimbus cruciger with three pellets in each limb of the cross. In the left hand he holds the Gospel. The probable date of this seal is sometime prior to 963.¹¹

These two examples cited above reflect clearly the impact that Orthodox Christianity had upon every phase of Byzantine existence. No object was too small to reflect and record the closeness of the Byzantine Christian with his religion. No object was so insignificant that it did not manifest an acknowledgment of Divine Power and the Divine Authority. Even a tiny object such as a seal bore witness to the importance of religion in the everyday life of the Byzantine. The seal symbolized authority, and the authority symbolized was both secular and divine, but the secular authority received its justification from the divine, and acknowledged the Surpeme Authority of the Divine.

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¹¹ The two examples cited above from the tenth century afford illustrations of the relationship of seals to coins as far as types are concerned. However, it must be pointed out that a great deal of experience, as well as time, is needed to identify seals and to establish an independent chronology. An accurate examination of Byzantine sigillography shows that numerous types existed on seals long before they made their appearance on the coins. Unfortunately for anyone desiring to prove the relationship of the coins to the seldom studied seals, there has been a dangerous tendency to date the seals from the coin types. The reverse should be at least theoretically possible, though the coins are obviously better adaptable to longer preservation than the seals. The temptation, then, is great to use the coints to date the seals. Many methods for dating are available; indeed, a very good background in Byzantine sources is needed, numismatic, sigillographic, palaeographic, epigraphic, and iconographic, as well as historical, in order to establish both a correct chronology and lasting conclusions.



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THE REVELATORY CHARACTER OF THE NEW TESTAMENT AND HOLY TRADITION IN THE ORTHODOX CHURCH

By THE VERY REV. GERASIMOS PAPADOPOULOS

The Orthodox Church recognizes two sources of Faith, the Holy Scriptures and the Holy Tradition. It considers both "equal in value, strength and validity," and as having "this same power where piety is concerned"—as is told to us by Basil the Great.¹ Our Church seeks to emphasize that the light of the Holy Tradition is equally indispensable along with the Holy Scriptures for the complete and true comprehension of the Christian truths. Holy Tradition is particularly necessary for the true life of Christian Faith in the life of the Church.

But the great value and need of the Holy Tradition does not necessarily mean the removal of all differences between the Holy Scriptures and Holy Tradition. Nor does it place either of the two on an equal level. There is a misunderstanding which certain non-Orthodox people have of the Orthodox Church, and they contend that the Orthodox Church places greater importance on Holy Tradition rather than on Holy Scripture. "For laying aside the commandment of God, ye hold the tradition of men" (Mark 7:8). This has never been practiced in the Greek Orthodox Church. Indeed, the Holy Scriptures have always had a special place in the Orthodox Church and have always constituted the first and main basis of faith. The value and respect given to the Holy Tradition are based precisely on its relation to Holy Scriptrue as the authentic interpretation of its contents in the theoretical teachings, as well as in the spiritual life of the Church.

The purpose of this article is to define the true relationship which exists between the two sources of faith: Holy Tradition, on the one hand, and Holy Scriptures, on the other. As for the Holy Scriptures, we shall limit ourselves mainly to the New Testament. Regarding Holy Tradition, we shall examine for the most part the historical genesis and the relation to the Holy Scriptures.²

¹ Concerning the Holy Spirit, 27, 66; Migne, 32, 188; C. Androutsos, Dogmatics of the Orthodox Church, Athens, 1907, p. 8.

² For the full meaning and importance of the Holy Tradition, one must go beyond the scope of a limited article like the present one. Enough concerning Holy Tradition can be found in *E.C.Q.*, Vol. VII, 1947 — Supplementary Issue which is devoted to Holy Tradition and its relation to the Holy Bible.

II

During the times of the Apostles, and in the period of the Early Church, *Tradition* constituted the basic element of Christian Teaching and the only source of faith. The content of tradition consists of the oral teaching in the different Christian communities that was preached by the Apostles, the evangelism of Christian salvation. This oral tradition is indistinguishable from the written teachings of the Apostles, which began to be set down in writing by the Apostles approximately twenty years from the start of oral tradition.

With the appearance of the written records of the Apostolic Teachings, the tradition ceases to be the only source of faith; rather, it still continues to constitute the basis of faith, and has a complementary character in helping the faithful towards better comprehension of the various written records of the Apostles, their epistles in the beginning, and later their Gospels. The written records of the New Testament, usually having been written under certain conditions and for the solution of certain problems, did not allow the possibility of their containing the whole and systematic teachings. For this reason, the Apostles, being away from the communities to which they wrote, often remind the faithful of the oral teaching so that they might have the full concept of Christian truth.⁸ The interest of the Church in this oral tradition of the Apostles remained strong. Exemplary are the expressions of Pappias concerning this: "... but if ever anyone came who had followed the presbyters, I inquired into the words of the presbyters what Andrew or Peter or Philip or Thomas or James or John or Matthew, or any other of the Lord's disciples, ..."4

Thus, the written record of the Apostles and their oral teachings comprise the only source of faith, the unique Christian teaching, just as the Apostles accepted it from revelation. The unique oral and written teaching of the Apostles comprised the contents of the Christian Faith and the distinguishing characteristic of the Church. The origin of all ecclesiastical tradition must be traced to the Apostolic Tradition if it is to have validity and authenticity. "The distinguishing and absolute sign of genuine and unchanging tradition is that tradition which come out from the Apostles themselves." ⁵

⁸ II Thess. 2:14; I Cor. 11:2; II Tim. 1:13, 2:2; II John 12. C. Androutsos, Symbolics from the Orthodox Viewpoint, Athens, 1930, p. 116.

⁴ Eusebius, Church History, III, 39; Migne, 20, 297.

⁵ V. Vellas, Authority of the Bible, p. 611.

Ш

After the death of the Apostles, and particularly after the death of their immediate disciples and followers, Christian truth meets difficulties. The richness of the early teaching of the Apostles doesn't remain intact in the memory of all the faithful. The true meaning of the Apostolic teaching remains obscure for most, although we have these written records. Many now distort the oral form of this teaching; otherwise, it is the fate of every oral teaching. Many books are written with Apostolic claims in which Christian truth is interpreted and formulated according to arbitrary views. All these threaten the unity of faith and shake the foundation of the one Apostolic Church.

Those in charge of governing the Church began to contend so as to preserve original deposit and pass it on to the coming generations. With the Apostolic teaching as a foundation, with the test of the universality of the Church's conscience, and with the guidance of the Holy Spirit, the genuine Apostolic text was finally determined. By the collection of the canons of the New Testament, the Church obtained one complete set of the teachings of its faith. The books of the New Testament give us one firm, written, general basis of Christian Truth. Although the different books are written under different circumstances, they are all divinely-inspired and have been produced in the light of the oral Apostolic tradition; they give the true meaning and the complete contents of the Christian Faith. That which John said about his Gospel also holds true, and even more so, for the whole of the New Testament. "But these are written, that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that believing ye might have life through his name" (John 20:31). The books of the New Testament became the main standard of faith. These books help in the purest preservation of the tradition of the Apostles.

The main purpose of the Church is the perpetual effort for greater penetration and better understanding of the New Testament. The New Testament has become the treasure of the Church, the crystallized objective teaching of the Apostels. This is the main achievement of the early Church. The Apostolic teachings in the life of the Church have to be constantly understood and lived by her faithful throughout the ages, and must become the constant source of faith and life of the Church, preserved in integrity and handed down from generation to generation.

⁶ Cf. II Peter 3:16.

⁶ª All of the Apocryphal writings of the New Testament have been written under the names of the Apostles; and Orthodox writers of the first post-Apostolic Church entitle their teachings The Teachings of the Twelve Apostles so as to emphasize its authority.

The task of the Church of the early post-Apostolic period toward the preservation and stabilization of the true teachings of the Apostles, and the subsequent endless attempts of the Church through her various organs toward the perpetuation, greater penetration, and understanding of Christian truths, and toward the formulation of these truths into clear dogmas and the manifestation of religious life of the whole Church—likewise the transmission of the teaching throughout the ages—embody the Church's very history.

For this reason Orthodox Dogmatics defines as tradition, "all the dogmas which either are absent or are inferred in the Scriptures, and which need the light of the Holy Tradition in order to acquire the clarity of a dogma." This tradition will continue as long as there exists a living Church as a continuing effort of understanding and living the meaning of Christian truth, and as her several needs arise.

IV

Even after the written crystallization of the Christian teachings of the Apostles, the danger of heresies has not and will not stop. These heresies are due to the erroneous interpretation of Apostolic teaching by some members of the Church. It is true that the Holy Spirit dwells in the Church, and "enlightens her in every Truth," but without this enlightenment being absolute. The Church is a God-given organ, and yet at the same time, this is a human organization. Its members act and think as human beings, and as such they are capable of erring at times in their attempts to understand Divine Truth. In fact the Fathers, as individual humans, erred, as even local synods did. The different heresiarchs were even official members of the Church. For this reason different heresies appeared from the time of the early Church and continue to appear until today, since we shall not have a single and firm criterion of interpretation of the Scriptures; and since we shall not have an authentic guarantee of the genuineness of that which is interpreted continually in the life of the Apostolic teachings of the Church. This authentic criterion was recognized by the Church of the first eight centuries and the Orthodox Church continues to recognize only "the general conscience of the church," which is accepted as a whole, according to her extension in time and place.

The Church in the totality of her members, working and reflecting under the enlightenment of the Holy Spirit, acts infallibly, and remains the guarantee of the authenticity of the Holy Tradition. The conscience

⁷ See C. Androutsos, pp. 74, 124, 127.

of the Church, "as the one, holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church of Christ," constitutes legitimate Tradition. The Church can be called Holy Tradition, since she bears it within her bosom.⁸ The conscience of the Church judges and is responsible to her believers for the integrity and purity of the preserved Apostolic tradition regarding salvation in Christ. Without the testimony of the general conscience of the Church, there does not exist any certain criterion concerning the correctness of tradition, not even of the unity of the Church.

V

The conscience of the Church as a whole can primarily be seen in ecumenical councils. Due to different problems, especially concerning the dogma of faith, the Church assembles in these as one body and declares authoritatively through her representatives. The Bishops, as representatives of the Church, basing themselves on the Scriptures, on the hermeneutical criterion of the consciousness of the Church, examine the emerging problems under the enlightening guidance of the Holy Spirit and declare dogmatically about the true interpretation of certain obscure passages of the Scriptures — the misinterpretation of which led some into heresy.

These dogmatic decisions of the Church, promulgated in the Ecumenical Synods, possess the character of infallibility and have a binding authority on all the Church, since the decisions receive "direction from the Holy Spirit," and also because they represent the common faith of the whole Church, all the lands and all the epochs. By these is fulfilled the terms of the authenticity of the Holy Tradition, as was formulated by Vicent, Bishop of Lerins — quod ubique quod semper quod omnibus creditum est.⁵²

The seven Ecumenical Councils were convoked in the undivided Church of the first eight centuries. To their dogmatical decision the Church gives the character of infallibility, and considers them as having "eternal validity, absolute value and authority, and universal and

⁸ Ibid.

^{8a} In the Ecumenical Synods, we have the unanimous opinion of the Church because, on the one hand, the various problems are studied on the basis of the past tradition of the united Church, and on the other hand, many of the Church's delegates are found in them representing the tradition of various local churches. Each synod was recognized by the immediately succeeding one which had to ratify the minutes of the previous. Finally, the Bishops who were absent from the synod accepted the decisions of the Ecumenical Synods without objecting against them. C. Androutsos, p. 125.

binding character." The Church considers these as "the most important written records of Holy Tradition and as the main foundation of her dogmatic teaching equal to the Holy Scriptures in validity and strength." 9

Thus, tradition in the Christian Church can be divided into three phases: (1) In the Apostolic Tradition, which coincides with the preaching of the Apostles and their doctrine concerning the life of the Church. This is brought out in general lines in the books of the New Testament. (2) In the Holy Tradition of the Church in a general sense, or otherwise in the theological tradition. This is the continuous and evolutionary interpretation and development of the original Apostolic teaching by the Church, as a living organism, and the formulation by her of the canons governing the life of the Church. This it bears in the theological writings of the Fathers of the Church and in the religious expression of her life. Under this form, Holy Tradition started from the early post-Apostolic period and continued to develop and shall always develop as long as the Church of Christ exists on earth as a living organism. (3) In the dogmatic tradition, in which the Church through Ecumenical Synods, sometimes, and under certain circumstances, declares with authority on certain problems concerning faith. This dogmatic tradition also gives the seal of legitimacy to the former theological tradition. The latter always precedes the consideration of the different problems that arise, and directs them toward the maturity of the ecclesiastical consciousness.

In this way, the double character of the Holy Tradition can be clearly fixed: first, fixed and unchangeable in the relation with the already formulated dogmas of the faith, and second, unfixed and evolutionary in relation to the understanding of and the manner in which we live our Christian truth. But it always leads to the preceding tradition of the Church.¹⁰

⁹ J. Karmiris, The Dogmatic and Symbolic Records of the Orthodox Church, Athens, 1952, Vol. I, 17.

¹⁰ Mr. Vellas in his mentioned work states that "never has the Eastern Orthodox Church officially and through decisions of an Ecumenical or other Synods decided the essence, the extent and time limits of Holy Tradition." This has happened because the Ecumenical Councils are nothing more than the very Tradition of the Living Church, as a general Church conscience in its development. For this reason nothing hinders the further extension and continuation of Theological Tradition and even Dogmatic Theology, should certain problems necessitate the convening of an Ecumenical Council.

VI

The first source of Christian belief is the Holy Scripture, the totality of holy books written by God-inspired authors, and in which is contained the Divine Revelation. The Scriptures are divided into the Old and New Testaments. Both comprise the unique Divine Revelation pertaining to the salvation of man in Christ. The Divine Revelation begins with Adam and Eve; it continues through the history of the Israelite kingdom; and is fulfilled in the incarnation of Jesus Christ in whom we have the peak and the end of supernatural Divine Revelation, "ending all continuation revelation."

The New Testament enjoys unique authority and honor in the conscience of the Christian Church. The ideal authenticity is attributed equally as much to its content, as also to its idealistic place and authority which its authors hold in the Christian Church. The books of the New Testament contain the complete Divine Revelation fulfilled in Christ, as it was perceived, understood, and taught by those eyewitnesses of the life, the teaching, and works of Jesus Christ. The New Testament is the first crystallization through writing of the Christian Truth, since it was revealed directly to the Apostles by the Lord and was understood through the cooperation and illumination of the Holy Spirit. In view of the fact that the New Testament has such a content, it is placed as the main basis upon which were founded the central teachings of our Church, our faith, and the expressions of her religious life.

"The revelation provides for us the contents of the faith, that is to say, the teachings of the Lord and the Apostles, which are transmitted from generation to generation, and which are treasured in the Scriptures and the other monuments, the tradition in a broad sense."

VII

The Apostles, although they were mortals and subject to human frailty, truly occupy an important place in the framework of the birth and development of the Christian Church. Their activities during the establishment of the Church were such that there should be no comparison between the Apostles and the other personalities of the Church. This distinction is to be attributed to the entirely different and singular characteristics, which only the Apostles have.

Only the Apostles were chosen by the Lord Himself. They were selected by Christ, so as to follow Him and to belong to Him. He prepares them, so that they can undertake their apostolic task while He

is yet living and to continue it after the day of Ascension and the descent of the Holy Spirit. The Evangelists state that the Lord goes unto the mountain and invites those whom He wishes, and He selects twelve to be with Him and sends them to preach that the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand. For this task He armored them with a special strength so that "to have power to cast out devils" and "to heal every sickness" (Mark 3:13-15; Luke 6:12-12; Matthew 10:1-8).

During the three years of Christ's public ministry and life, the Apostles were to be with Him, following and attending Him as eye-witnesses to and ear-witnesses of all that He did and taught. After the Resurrection, Jesus privately appears before them and grants them the blessing of peace (John 20:19-23; Acts 1:37). For a period of forty days He appears before them, telling them of the teachings concerning the Kingdom of God. He armored them with strength and power of remitting sins on earth, for this was His work and the purpose of His Incarnation. Receiving all charge in heaven and on earth, He entrusts them with the task of conquering the world and confides to them the secure dissemination of His teachings; therefore, sending them unto the nations, He says, "All power is given unto me in heaven and on earth. Go, ye, therefore, and teach all nations. . . . Teach them to observe all things which I have commanded you." He promises that He will be with them continually, so as to be a "co-worker" in their truly sublime task (Matthew 28:16-20; John 20:22-23). He also promises that He will send the Holy Spirit which will "enlighten them unto all the truth" (Acts 1:4; John 15:15-26).

The direct call and mission of the Apostles by the Lord were considered very important and significant by the early Church. The genuineness of the Christian sermons and teachings and the validity of the preachers depended on their Apostolicity. Not every teaching concerning Christ was acceptable but only the Apostolic teachings. The complete value or authority of the Apostle did not depend on personality, per se, but by the fact that he was chosen by Jesus Christ. This point can be well proven from the conflicts that St. Paul had to prove to the faithful, namely, that he was chosen by the Lord and sent by Him to render His Gospel unto all the nations. Christ Himself compares the mission of the disciples to His mission through His Father.¹¹

The most important hearers of Holy Tradition, the Bishops, are successors of the Apostles; however, they are not Apostles. All of the Bishops are equal, in spite of the sophistic attempt and assertion of

¹¹ John 17:18, 20:21-22; Mark 3:14, 6:7. Gotlieh-Sohngen, *Die Einheit in aler Theologie*, Munich, 1952, p. 307. See Galatians 1:11-12; Eph. 3:8.

some to lay claim to a particular and special position among the Bishops. The Bishops cannot be compared to the Apostles. They derive their rank and their authenticity from the fact that they are successors of the Apostles. The Bishops are selected to continue the work of the Apostles, and it is not permitted that they add or subtract from the Apostolic teachings. The word of the Apostles, written and oral, has the value of the Word of God. The Bishops, as successors, are called to preserve the deposit of faith which they received from the Apostles (I Tim. 6:20; II Tim. 1:12-14; 2:2).

VIII

Historically, following the birth of the Christian Church, we see that the authors of the New Testament are not to be found in the course of its evolution, but to be present in the very beginning of the Church. The Apostles are the founders as well as the corner-stones of the Church (Eph. 2:20). They first placed the corner-stone, Jesus Christ. Upon this stone the successors of the Apostles are called to build with care (Hebrews 3:10-11). The Apostles, as Sohngen remarks, do belong to "Tradition," because they first gave the truth, which after them the Church gives to us. The Apostles taught the original truth from the first source: The truth which was revealed unto them directly from God and not from men. They taught the truth which they knew from their own experience, "which they heard and saw" with their eyes and observed and touched with their hands (John 1:1; II Peter 1:16-8). Revelation in the strict or real sense of the word refers to the truth which is received from a second source, which the receivers transmit to succeeding generations. The strength and the validity of Holy Tradition depend exactly on its relationship with the teachings of the Apostles, and on the fact that it delivers whole and integrated the deposit of faith which it has received. In the eloquent exhortation, which St. Paul gives unto Timothy, he concludes his epistle, "O Timothy, keep that which is committed to thy trust" and "that good thing which was committed unto thee keep by the Holy Spirit which dwelleth in us . . . and the things that thou hast from me heard . . . the same commit thou to faithful men, who shall be able to teach others also" (I Tim. 6:20; II Tim. 1:12-14; 2:2). The subtle difference between Tradition and Apostolic teaching is the fact that Tradition teaches that which has been received from other men. The conception of Tradition is a deposit which is handed down. The Apostle teaches that which he learned directly from his own personal experience. And for this reason, it is not possible for it to belong to the

realm of "Tradition." ¹² Above all, it comprises a first-source and central teaching.

The Apostles received, understood and taught the Christian truth from supernatural Revelation and from inspiration of the Holy Spirit in a manner unknown to the later history of the Church. The idea has been proposed and supported that the Apostles did not receive the Christian truth according to a direct inspiration of the Holy Spirit and direct Divine Revelation. It is claimed, too, that the Holy Men of the New Testament do not transmit at all or develop the teachings which the Lord had confided in them, as well as ignoring even the sacraments which were performed by Him and the Revelation of the New Testament, which is the only supernatural Revelation.

"The person of Jesus Christ constitutes the main and only source, the executor and the bearer of New Testament Revelation." In Christ Jesus the whole Christian truth appeared fully and forever. "The acceptance, therefore, of a new revelation in the teaching of the Apostles would have placed in doubt and confusion the complete and perfect Revelation wrought by Christ. ¹⁸

This theory, although it is plausible, is not acceptable because it does not cover the whole and total character of Apostolic teaching. Even though Jesus taught the disciples in a human manner, there seems to be no place or room for "Inspirational Revelation," as in the case of the Patriarchs and Prophets. However, we must not forget that "the Apostle does not have only a simple relationship of student toward his teacher." In Jesus Christ we have no simple teacher of certain moral and religious teachings, which have been revealed unto Him, and which He teaches in a human way especially to His Apostles. In Jesus Christ we have Revelation itself; we have God Himself revealed to us and especially to His Apostles. The word of Jesus is not only a helping means to Revelation of the Divine Will, but it is the Revelation of God and His will. In the second person of the Holy Trinity, the Word, in which God speaks, He reveals the fullness of His essence. Jesus does not speak with the expression of the prophets.

IX

In the Master, Jesus, we have the active Revelation of God, the Incarnation, the teaching and the life, the Passion and the Resurrection,

¹² Sohngen, op. cit., p. 320.

¹⁸ E. Antoniades, Scientific Journal of the University of Athens, 1937-1938, pp. 127, 130, 136.

Sohngen, op. cit., p. 316.
 Romanon Guardini, Der Herr, Wherburg, 1949, p. 2.

and the descent of the Holy Spirit. This is nothing more than the continual supernatural Revelation of God and His will in the personage of Jesus Christ, through Whom the human race has the opportunity to be saved. In this fact alone lies the perfection of Divine Revelation through Jesus Christ and it is in this fact that God became man; He assumed mortal flesh; and He dwelt among us (John 1:14). Although Christ became man and as a man dwelt among us, His presence and His teaching do not cease to be Supernatural Revelation of God and by far the most perfect. For His teaching is a means of the Revelation of God and His Divine Will, because the life and teachings of Jesus Christ are the Revelation. For this reason only few understand that God sent Him. These few were the Apostles who knew and understood from Divine Revelation and not according to man. This was clearly proved by Christ. At the end of His public ministry, Peter made a confession concerning Him, "Thou art the Son of the Living God. Jesus replied unto him: 'Blessed art thou, Simon Bar Jona, for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in Heaven." Upon this faith and confession of Peter Jesus promises to build His Church (Mat. 16:16-19).

The mystery of Christ is not revealed as simple teaching, but according to divine dispensation gradually in the life and the work of Jesus; for this reason, even until the Cross and the Resurrection, the person of Jesus Christ had not been fully understood by the Apostles themselves. Pedagogical reasons of Divine Wisdom imposed that Divine Revelation be not complete at once. Men were not able to uphold all of its weight, even though they were the Apostles. Only after Pentecost, through the illumination of the Holy Spirit, did the Apostles understand fully the whole mystery. And because Revelation was not understood by its hearers, it cannot be considered perfect. For this reason, the perfect Revelation in Christ must be understood as chronologically completed during the final sermons of the Apostles who, illuminated by the Holy Spirit, understood and gave to us verbally and orally the first theology concerning Christ.

The Apostles alone, illuminated by the Holy Spirit, were able to declare original theological formulas concerning the person of Jesus Christ, the plan of God, and the salvation of the world in Christ. "Without the theology of the Apostles and of John and Paul, we would

¹⁸ V. Vellas, op. cit., p. 607.

¹⁷ Romanon Guardini, op. cit., pp. 68, 73.

¹⁸ St. Peter needed an additional private revelation in order to preach to Cornelius; St. Paul, also, in order to learn the mystery of Christ. (Acts 10:10-20; Gal. 1:12; Eph. 3:3).

not have a perfect picture of Christian Revelation with the Incarnation, teaching, Passion, Resurrection and its consequences, the sending of the Holy Spirit, the dedication of a completely new life in this world." ¹⁹

 \mathbf{X}

From the above, it can be concluded that chronologically the Apostles are active within the framework of the birth of Christian Revelation and that by their teachings give it its ultimate form. Without the sermons of the Apostles, the Christian Revelation does not have its required end for us. For this reason "the sermons of the Apostles belong to the very reality of Christian Revelation. It constitutes the form of the 'Bible,' which Revelation itself gave to her: The Revealer Himself, Jesus Christ, gave by means of the witnesses of His Revelation, the Apostles. The chronology of Revelation terminates with the sermon of the Apostles." ²⁰

Thus, the teaching of the Disciples is connected with Christian Revelation. The Apostle is a receiver as well as a witness of the Revelation. Our faith in Christ is faith which has been revealed to the Apostles and the manner which they understood it and which they preached unto the Church illuminated by the Holy Spirit. Faith in Christ is impossible without faith in the preaching Apostles. That which Christ is and did and taught, we believe only through the preaching of the Apostles. Without this we are unable to approach Christ. The living faith which they had in Christ, whom they had heard, illumines and brightens the faith of those who have not seen Him.²¹

Only to the Apostles through Jesus Christ was God revealed directly. Unto them did Jesus entrust the immediate task of spreading the tidings of the "good news" and the building of the Church. One is hardly able to conceive the gravity of a direct contact with God. Humanly this is impossible. For the Apostles "it becomes possible through God." For this act and their task was really divine, and it was successful because of the presence of Divine Grace which led them toward every step. For unto them preeminently can it be said that, "For I do not live, but Christ liveth in me." With the grace of God they preserved and transmitted unto the whole Church the divine treasure which was in earthly vessels, and they gave it unto the Church built by them. For this treasury is to be found mainly in the books of the

¹⁹ Sohngen, op. cit., p. 317.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Sohngen, p. 307.

New Testament, in which is enshrined the revealed Truth concerning salvation in Christ Jesus. For this reason it will always be considered as the priceless divine treasure unto all ages. The divinity of its contents and its Apostolic character gives proof to the fact that its value is priceless. Without these two qualifications we are unable to approach the truth of the New Testament; nor are we able to understand the depth and essence of its revealed truth.

XI

Since we have defined the essence and character of Holy Tradition and of the New Testament, we are now able to define better and more clearly their relationship. The New Testament, as a book of Christian Revelation transmitted by the Apostles, consists of the first and main source of Christian Faith and Dogma. Without the New Testament, we are unable to discuss Christian Revelation. The New Testament is the basis and corner-stone, the first and ultimate purpose of the Church. The New Testament is the "corner-stone of the Apostles," upon which and according to its example, the whole Church must be built until it reaches the point where Christ, as the head and primary corner-stone, will unite the whole edifice of the Church.

The Fathers and the other illustrious men of the Church, who were bearers of Holy Tradition, do nothing else in their writings, save to extol the fact that Scripture is God-inspired and seek illumination from Scripture, and thus enrichen the life of the Church. Their primary work is commentary on the Scriptures, the development of the truth in the various dogmas, and the regulation of the life of the Church according to the truth.²² The whole life of the Church—worship, sermon, hymns and liturgical services—has Holy Scripture as the major object and purpose. The Church especially honors and respects the New Testament, which is read daily in all Church Services. Before the reading of the Bible there is a prayer read which beseeches God to strengthen and to illuminate all in order to understand the Biblical truth. The Church has placed the Holy Bible on its Holy Altar and places it in use during litanies because it contains Jesus Christ.

The New Testament is the primary object of the Holy Tradition of the Church and for this reason it cannot be considered a part of it. The Apostolic teaching is not tradition, but the sacred source of Tradi-

²² Migne 32, 188, ff.

tion.²³ Holy Tradition possesses and interprets Apostolic teaching. It cannot, however, be identified with it. The New Testament is the treasure, while Holy Tradition is an act and the means by which the Church lives from the New Testament and hands this treasure down to the coming generations. The second source of faith after the Holy Scripture for the Orthodox Church is Holy Tradition, the vigilant guard and infallible interpreter of the letter of Scripture, which is the expression of the living spirit of Christ and the Apostles.

The importance of and the respect manifested by Holy Tradition are in the fact that it has preserved for us the whole Apostolic Teaching, without adding something new or subtracting from it. Only through Holy Tradition does Christian Truth remain intact throughout the ages. The Holy Tradition is the general conscience of the Church and interprets with authenticity Holy Scripture, and develops it in clear dogmatic formula of faith for the preservation of the truth, and for the safeguarding of the faithful from error, toward which a one-sided interpretation of Holy Scripture usually leads. Holy Scripture is a criterion to which Holy Tradition must be compared. On the basis of Holy Scriptures were the heresies censured and refuted; in this way, Holy Tradition was made secure during the first centuries. Every Tradition contradicting the Holy Scripture is false. "All the church teaching is contained substantially in Holy Scripture... Every church teaching is acceptable because it is witnessed by Scripture."

IIX

From the Holy Scripture, Holy Tradition derives and formulates its various church orders and canons and the means of expressing the religious life of the faithful in worship. To this fact does St. Basil the Great refer, stating that written teaching and oral tradition "have the same strength where piety is concerned. Both are indispensable to the understanding and living rightly the mystery of piety, and the revealed Christian truth."

²³ We fall in danger when calling Holy Tradition a source of Revelation, because the oral teaching of Christ and the Apostles is preserved in it, and because we have the verbal and primary essence of Christian Revelation. Also, it is not right and exact to state that which we do in support of the validity of Holy Tradition. "The New Testament presupposes Holy Tradition or even worse." The Apostles simply have recorded the Holy Tradition of the First Church. In this last statement, we forget that the Tradition of the Apostolic Church was nothing more than the teaching of the Apostles, who established and directed the Church in the name of Christ.

Without the simple and continuous tradition of the Church, which has its very foundation in the teachings of the Apostles, no other authentic interpretation of Holy Scripture is possible. There is no other security against heresies which can devastate Christian truth. There is no unity of faith and life; there is no unified spirit of Christian truth without the Tradition of the historical Church.

Without Holy Tradition there is no Christian Church as Christ intended it to be and as the Apostles taught, namely, as one for all of the faithful of all the ages under one head, one flock, and one shepherd — Christ. Holy Tradition is the life of the Church of Christ through the ages. The person who denies this fact, denies the life of the Church, for the Church is a continual life.

The essence of Christianity is faith in Christ as Saviour. The unity, however, of faith will only be the unity of the dogma as Holy Tradition gives it. Unfortunately, it has been often said by many that Dogma divides the Churches. This cannot be so, because dogma is a result of the pious attempt of the Church to save the unity of the faith of the Church. Dogma was formulated and pronounced for the sake of unity, and it is the only means by which the Christian Churches can keep united.

Christian truth is not a philosophical truth which one is able to formulate as he pleases and to apprehend it intellectually. Christian truth is Christ Himself, life, our peace, the only means in the life of the one Church able to be understood as one faith and life. The Eastern Orthodox Church, avoiding the undue stress of one or the other of the two sources of faith, attributes equal importance and value to both of these sources.

Consistent with its past, the Eastern Orthodox Church has one purpose only: to preserve and to interpret Holy Tradition, that is, the continuous life of the Church which embraces within itself the truth of the New Testament. This is what "Orthodoxy" means and what it is. Non-Orthodox have admired the Eastern Orthodox Church not because they have known her dogmatic teachings, but rather because they have discussed the beauty of the expression of her spiritual life, all of which are in accord with the teachings of Holy Scripture and which, at the same time, serve the deep need of the faithful.

HOLY CROSS
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THE TECHNIQUE OF BYZANTINE ICON-PAINTING

By DEMETRIOS DUKAS

Byzantine art is certainly one of the most sumptuous, glorious, and richest in history; yet it has been only in relatively recent times that scholars and historians of art have directed their inquiring attention to it.

Byzantine painting, which includes panel-icons, wall-paintings, mosaics, enamels, and illuminated manuscripts, has a very definite and important place in the history of painting.

It would be correct to term Byzantine art a synthesis of East and West, the center of this fusion being Constantinople where, especially, the blending of Greek, Roman, Syrian, and Persian elements took place.¹

The personality of Byzantine painters counted little, for the chief aim and desire of the artist was to convey religious truths and values, rather than express his own ideas and feelings.²

There exist two old manuscripts dealing with the painter's craft. The first was written by Theophilus the Monk, also known as Rugerus, who lived during the XII century. The second is the $E_{\mu\eta\nu\epsilon\ell\alpha}$ $E_{\mu\nu}$ $E_{\mu\nu$

According to Rice, the Byzantine painter was responsible for both panel-icons and mural decorations.⁵ Fotis Kontoglous, eminent contemporary Byzantine iconographer of Greece, has expressed an opposite point of view. He believes that each artist was a specialist in his own field. Thus a fresco-painter would paint only frescos, a spe-

¹ David Talbot Rice, Byzantine Painting, Avalon Press & Central Institute of Art and Design, p. 3.

² Ibid., p. 20.

³ Ormonde Maddock Dalton, Byzantine Art and Archaeology, Oxford, The Clarendon Press, p. 258.

⁴ Rice, op. cit., p. 21.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

cialist in mosaics would do only mosaics, a painter of miniatures, miniatures, etc. The only exception Kontoglous cites is Panselenos, the great fresco-painter, who is reputed to have left some panel-icons by his hand.⁶

In this technical study, our first consideration shall be the nature of panels and their grounds. The panels were of various types of wood, the artist usually employing the type of wood peculiar to the region. In the Pontic region of Asia Minor, hazel or other small nut trees were used for small icons, while walnut was used for the larger icons in Cyprus. During the early times in Russia, pine, alder, birch, and oak were used. In the period of Russian icon-painting, pine and sweet-scented cypress found their use, chiefly because they facilitated the making of excellent large panels. The panels of the seventeenth and eighteenth century are in poor condition, being warped and cracked—the direct result of poor and hasty workmanship.⁷

There were two methods of preparing a panel for painting. In the first and the one most often used, a fine linen canvas was glued to the panel, or placed on a layer of gessoe. Then this was covered with a number of thin coats of gessoe. The quality and thickness of both vary; research proves that finer canvas and thickly gessoed panels go hand in hand with accomplished icons. This method of panel priming was an exact adaptation from that used in the mummy paintings of Egypt. The second method, in which the use of canvas was discarded and only the gessoe was used on the wood, is of more Western character.8

In order to keep the panel from warping and spoiling the finely and painstakingly prepared surface, means were employed in the form of strips of wood applied to the back by diverse means. One of these was the nailing of them on the edge of the panel—a method used after the thirteenth century. In Russia the strips were let in on the back. In Cyprus, large panels were reinforced in the following manner: the strips were nailed on from behind with large-headed nails, the points of which were clinched over the surface which the canvas and gessoe covered. Occasionally the nails were driven in from the front and the points were clinched over the strips on the back; this being a less satisfactory method, because the large nails tended to rust and

⁶ He expressed this view in one of the conversations I had with him months ago.

⁷ Rice, op. cit., p. 89.

⁸ Ibid., p. 88.

cause the canvas and gessoe to rot. On the largest panels, which were formed of more than one board, transverse strips of wedge shaped pieces were let in flush with the surface and backstrips.

The gessoe, in preparation to receive the gold leaf or paint, was polished to a high degree.¹⁰ In the Russian icons the gold, when used, was covered over with a priming of red wine, and then with a mixture made of wax, egg, and red lead, this being done after the painting was finished, with the result that the gold had a warm reddish glow in it.¹¹

Rice, in *Icons of Cyprus*, states that there are three general approaches of technique used. In the first, being the one considered the most important, the gessoe was polished and then the outline or cartoon of the scenes and figures to be painted was drawn by means of either free hand or tracing with transparencies. A variation of this method was the incising into wet gessoe the design by means of a stylus.¹² The incising, I believe, was always done into dry gessoe, as the gessoe was always polished before the incising of the design, and the gessoe had to dry in order to be polished. The drawing and composition were closely bound together; the latter being dependent on the former.¹³ After this thick body, ground-like colors were laid on. These lacked gradations and were pattern-like. For the next stage, lighter colors were applied which enhanced the body colors and gave them life and modelling. The final stages were the addition of tints and highlights.

The second technical procedure was identical with the first except that the gessoe, after the drawing had been incised, was completely covered with a layer of gold leaf.

The third technique differs from the above two only in the preliminary drawing stage. By comparison, it is a heavy manner; for the drawing, executed by a brush dipped in black or brown color, was done at the same time the body colors were applied. There is no use of the neat, clear outline and the slow building up of color as used in the two other methods. But one must not infer that the last method necessarily resulted in works of lesser quality, for there are excellent examples of work done in this technique, as well as the others.¹⁴

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 90-91.

Ibid., p. 92.
 Nikodim Pavlovich Kondakov, The Russian Icon, Oxford, 1927, p. 58.

¹² Rice, *op. cit.*, pp. 92-93. ¹³ Kondakov, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

¹⁴ David Talbot Rice, The Icons of Cyprus. London, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., pp. 92-93.

Effects of golden highlights or writing are to be seen on many icons, and the exact method is described by Kondakov in detail.¹⁵

On the places where these were wanted, such as folds, edges of rocks, trees, buildings, or any other place, the artist drew with a brush dipped in a slow drying gum solution any line or dot, however thin or minute, that he desired to become gilded. The areas thusly worked on were covered with gold leaf, and after enough time had elapsed for the gum to dry, the loose leaf was brushed away with a goose feather, leaving the gilded gum strokes.¹⁶

Another variety of surface treatment can be seen on the icons of Cyprus where relief was achieved by use of gessoe or plaster for the halos and backgrounds. These fall into two types. In the first, the relief was worked on the flat surface of the icon—tooling was usually employed. In the second, the relief pattern was done on the halo which was heavily embossed, and at times came out as much as one and a half or two inches above the surface. The halos were done in either solid plaster or gessoe, or in some material such as cotton, wool, etc., covered with gessoe. The icons depicting the Virgin and Child were often done in the latter method.¹⁷

The medium of Byzantine icon-painting, as has been stated before, was of a tempera nature; that used in the icons of Cyprus was made of a mixture of egg yoke with glue or mastic. Max Doerner, in his book *The Materials of the Artist and Their Use in Painting*, states that a wax emulsion under the name of "cera colla" (wax-glue) was used by the Byzantine painters in the time of Giotto. 20

Theophilus, in the early twelfth century, describes a process of making varnish ²¹ which is used in present day varnish making. This varnish found use as an intermediate coat between the separate color layers of the tempera mixtures.²²

Kondakov, in his book The Russian Icon, states the aims of the icon-painter in terms of the technique of encaustic or wax painting in

¹⁵ Kondakov, op. cit., p. 57.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

¹⁷ Rice, The Icons of Cyprus, p. 97.

¹⁸ Dalton, op. cit., p. 258.

¹⁹ Rice, p. 29.

²⁰ Max Doerner, *The Materials of the Artist*, New York, Harcourt, Brace and Company, p. 227.

²¹ Rutherford J. Gettens & George L. Stout, *Painting Materials*, New York, D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc., p. 58.

²² Doerner, op. cit., p. 328.

relation to that of egg or tempera painting. The intent of the Greco-Fayum painters was to achieve a fresh natural portrait quickly with the encaustic technique, which lends itself to facile manipulation of tones and colors with the use of heat applied to fuse them, resulting in atmospheric effects, soft coloring, convincing color juxtaposition, and a striking appearance of the eyes.

The icon-painter, he states, sought for the same effects, but with the use of the egg or tempera technique attained them in a solid fashion by a long process of laying on one coat after another in gradually heightened tones.²⁸

It is interesting to note that the earliest icons were done in the encaustic technique, which indicates a distinct adoption of the technical means of pagan Fayum portraiture by Byzantine icon-painters.

In the Guide of Dionysius there is a recipe for a kind of wax painting and a medium with a high gloss consisting of glue, wax, and lye mixed in equal parts.²⁴

It would be well here to indicate the technical terms or language of Byzantine icon-painting, as such knowledge enables one to understand and visualize the actual painting procedure clearly. Proplasmos (προπλασμός) 25 is the first tone which serves as a basis for subsequent painting. It is always flat and sets the color mood and character of the particular object. It is used for all parts in an icon, whether they be heads, hands, or other flesh; buildings, trees, etc. — in short, anything that is to be painted.

The next term is called anigma (ἄνοιγμα),²⁶ which is the defining or drawing line used to define the form established by the proplasmos, being invariably darker than it.

Upon the so depicted forms are applied mixtures lighter in tone which serve to model and bring out the form. In the painting of flesh, this layer is called sarka (σάρκα);²⁷ in the painting of all other objects, it is called lammata (λάμματα).²⁸

In the painting of flesh a mixture made of a combination of pro-

²⁸ Kondakov, *op. cit.*, pp. 51-52.

²⁴ Διονυσίου τοῦ ἱερομονάχου καὶ ζωγράφου 'Ερμηνεία τῶν ζωγράφων (Athens, 1885) p. 30.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 20, 49.

²⁶ Ibid., pp. 20, 39, 49.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 20, 21, 39, 49, 50.

²⁸ Ibid., pp. 22, 23, 50.

plasmos and sarka serves as a half-tone between the two, and is called glykasmos (γλυκασμός).²⁹

Thus, in the painting of a head in the Byzantine technique, the proplasmos or base coat is first laid on. Upon this is applied the anigma or descriptive line drawing, and then the glykasmos or half-tone is applied, not, of course, completely covering the proplasmos. Upon this glykasmos the sarka is applied, which is heightened in value by the addition of white. The final white strokes or high lights are called psimmithies (ψημιθιές).³⁰

In the painting of the other forms, that is, drapery, buildings, rocks, trees, etc., the proplasmos and anigmata are applied and then the lighter formative tones called lammata, which correspond to the sarka in the painting of flesh. After the form is modeled by successively lighter lammata, the final psimmithies are applied, completing the painting.

In one of the Byzantine schools of iconography known as the "Cretan" manner of painting, a dark green imprimatura, the "proplasmos" of the Athos book, was laid over the entire white gessoe ground of the picture, and showed through everywhere. Over this, in two or three successive layers, the sarka, consisting of white lead, ochre, and vermilion, was laid on in such a manner that the proplasmos remained effective toward the outlines and in the shadows, producing a modeled effect and gradations of optical grays. On top of this came the red of the lips and cheeks, while the eyebrows, the pupils of the eyes, and deep folds were set in with black and caput mortuum. Draperies were always painted before the flesh. Egg yoke and "cera colla" were the authentic media of the period.³¹

Theophilus, as translated by Minns, states that the sarka or flesh coat is made by mixing a yellow made by burning white lead, natural white lead, and cinnabar or red ochre. If the face painted was ruddy, more red was added; if whiter, more white; and if pale, more green was added. All shadows that were painted over this were done with a mixture of sarka, green, burnt red ochre, and a little cinnabar. Next were applied the rosy tints, then "lumina" for highlights by an admixture of white.⁸²

Dionysius of Fourna, in his Painters' Guide, says that the proplas-

²⁹ Ibid., pp. 21, 22, 49.

³⁰ Ibid., pp. 21, 22, 23, 39, 48.

³¹ Doerner, op. cit., pp. 331-332.

³² Kondakov, op. cit., p. 62.

mos of Panselenos, the illustrious Byzantine painter, was made of white lead mixed with ochre, green, and black. The flesh color when lighted is made by white lead and red ochre; and the shadow caused by the sinking of the orbit of the eyes into the sockets is achieved in paint by mixing black and ochre or umber and red ochre.³⁸

The first coat or ground color, as described by Theophilus, is made by burning white lead until it has a yellow or greenish color. This color is prevalent in tenth and thirteenth century paintings and the darkish, greenish olive coat of the miniatures and icons of the Greco-Italian schools of Byzantine art. Over this color were added flesh tints made by the mixing of white lead, vermilion, burnt red ochre, and red lead. Where shadows are desired, as at the edges of the face and nose, the greenish ground color is allowed to assert itself.³⁴

A variation on this technique of head painting is noted in the Russian *Painters' Guide*, and is the following: The first coat is made by mixing ochre and black. The first flesh coat is made by mixing ochre, black, white lead, vermilion, and red. To achieve the second coat the ochre is made lighter, and for the shadow a little black is added to the mixture.³⁵

The highlights were usually parallel white lines, or psimmithies, on the face and pale shades of green, blue, or purple on the costumes. The manner of usage and execution varied, of course, with every school and artist, some of them applying the highlights with great delicacy, while others layed them on with wide sweeping brush-strokes.³⁶

The Greco-Italian School of icon-painting in the later half of the fourteenth and in the fifteenth century had, through Paolo, Lorenzo Veneziano, and Catarino, evolved a warm iconic coloring which gave rise to the rich coloring of Giorgione. Thus, it was not only the colorful setting of Venice, but also the decorative beauty of the Byzantine icons reflected from the Italo-Byzantine icons that provided the historic foundation for Venetian painting.⁸⁷

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⁸⁷ Kondakov, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

³³ Διονυσίου, Έρμηνεία τῶν ζωγράφων, pp. 20, 21, 49.

⁸⁴ Kondakov, p. 52.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

³⁶ Rice, Byzantine Painting, p. 20.



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as a matter of fact, the new religion, the religion of Jesus Christ, is not only historical religion but also universal religion embracing all people, independently of their national, political, and social status.

The author, it must be added, gives a concise picture of the political, social, historical, and geographical aspects of Alexandria. Without doubt, Dr. Istavridis has not exhausted research sources, since the present work brings up many points and questions which need more extensive discussion. However, the author promises to continue his study. There is no doubt that this study, when completed, will be a constructive and significant contribution to modern theological thought of the Orthodox Church.

GEORGE S. BEBIS

STEVEN RUNCIMAN, The Eastern Schism. Oxford, England: Clarendon Press, 1955. Pp. 189.

A good historian should be above all an interpreter. He has to go above, behind, and beyond the mere facts; he must penetrate into them, into their remote roots, into the obvious as well into the hidden causes of them; he must assess their effect on history, contemporary or lasting; he must find their purpose in the light of historical movements through the centuries. Mr. Runciman belongs to this category of historians. When he writes history, Mr. Runciman interprets history. Therefore, his recent work on the history of the Schism between East and West is a contribution to the understanding and interpretation of the separation on the two great Churches. His book is based on seven lectures given in 1954 at the University of Oxford. And though it is obvious that the lectures have been expanded in the book, the reader feels that the author writes under the tremendous pressure of space limitations. This is the main defect of his book. However, Mr. Runciman is a stylist. He unfolds the facts and he presents his interpretation with stylistic skill and attractiveness.

Mr. Runciman divides his book into eight chapters. He carefully examines the historical background of the Schism. He states that from the beginning it was quite difficult to attach any single date to the Schism. This is true, Mr. Runciman says, if we keep in mind that the state of the Schism only came into being when the average member of each Church felt it to be there. We may add that this conception applies especially to the Eastern Church where the "ecclesiastical conscience," that is to say, the people's opinion, plays a great role in the formation of the general policy of the Church. Mr. Runciman also explores the fundamental differences between the East and West. The

East has inherited the Hellenic spirit with the old Greek delight in speculative thought. The people of the East had at their disposal the Greek language with its classical beauty, its flexibility in expressions, its capacity to offer terms for the most difficult metaphysical doctrines. In addition, the educational level in the East was higher than in the West, and, as a matter of fact, clergymen and laymen alike were interested in the most controversial doctrinal problems.

The author does not fail to refer to the liturgical differences as well. His main points are that in the West, in contrast to the East, the lay congregation did not have the same intimate feeling of participation in the Mass, especially as the Latin of the Mass was not understood by most of the faithful in the West. Mr. Runciman, likewise, reminds the reader that there was an important doctrinal difference, namely, the "filioque." He thinks that the real issue behind the "filioque" dispute was over the nature of the Trinity. The addition of "filioque" to the creed was a violation against decisions of the Ecumenical Councils, as well as questioning the authority and inspiration of the Holy Fathers. Thus, the East did not sympathize with the "filioque," because it represented both the triumph of the German court and the German theology at Rome. Also, it was against their traditional dogmatic thesis.

Mr. Runciman further examines the important political, military, and ecclesiastical events which caused the actual crisis in the relations between East and West, as well as the personalities involved. He thinks that it is a tragic delusion to believe that if the peoples of the world could get to know each other there would be peace and goodwill forever. He also thinks that it is an unhappy delusion to believe that a dispute can be settled by a debate. As examples of these delusions, he presents the Crusades. According to the author, the Crusades brought the misunderstanding between Eastern and Western Christians down to a popular level. However, he rightly observes that personalities must not be considered as the authors of the Schism. Concerning the date of the Schism, Mr. Runciman confesses that it is impossible to give a precise date for it. But he is inclined to believe that the Fourth Crusade was the last and biggest blow to the relations between East and West.

Throughout his book, Mr. Runciman tries to make apparent that the division of East and West centers essentially around the question of authority. Mr. Runciman does not see, at the present time, any indication of unity between the two Churches. But he expresses the hope that at least friendship, respect, and understanding could be achieved in these difficult times — the same hope expressed by Bishop Athenagoras of Elaia, present dean of the Greek Theological School, in his correspondence in 1954 with Cardinal MacIntyre of Los Angeles. Mr. Runciman's bibliography is excellent. His sources cover the most

important documents of the history of both Churches. The author confesses that his personal sympathies are with Byzantium. But regardless his personal feelings, Mr. Runciman deals with his subject with the objectivity of a sincere scholar. Theologians of both Churches will profit in reading this excellent account.

GEORGE S. BEBIS

BASIL T. ZOUSTIS, The Greeks in America and Their Activities: The History of the Greek Archdiocese of North and South America. New York: D. C. Divry, Inc., 1954. Pp. 414 [Greek text].

This history of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America is an excellent document in immigrant-Greek Americana. Though it was intended to be a "systematic history of the establishment, development, and current form of the Archdiocese," Mr. Zoustis' history becomes an autobiographic document, unwittingly disclosing the levels of awareness which early church leaders had of their basic problems of conflicting values, *viz.*, Greek cultural and religious conservatism *vs.* the American social environment.

It would be entirely unfair to judge this monograph in accord with critical historical methodology. The niceties of chronology and limited interpretation do not diminish the freshness and flavor of the work. The "actor" and not the "observer" is the viewpoint.

Mr. Zoustis' role as actor comes from the fact that he has had entrèe to the leadership circles of the Greek Orthodox Church in the United States. The persons in his history are real people of life and motive; his acquaintance with them makes it so. Mr. Zoustis' reaction to each of these figures is emotionally charged; and his knowledge of the "internals" of the Archdiocese, though personalized and partisan, gives a certain stamp of "historical source" to his writing.

One other important contribution is made by Mr. Zoustis. His book contains a great many ecclesiastical documents, quoted in their entire length for the most part. Heretofore, no such collection of documents has been available. However, it is a misfortune that the *Great Tome of 1908* is not included in this collection. The only other sources in the United States of such documents are those that must be laboriously culled from the Greek language newspapers of New York, Chicago or San Francisco.

For the historian interested in the "new immigration" and the nature of acclimatization of the largest ethnic group of Eastern Christendom in the United States, Mr. Zoustis' history has the unintended but important dignity of historical source.

JAMES S. COUNELIS



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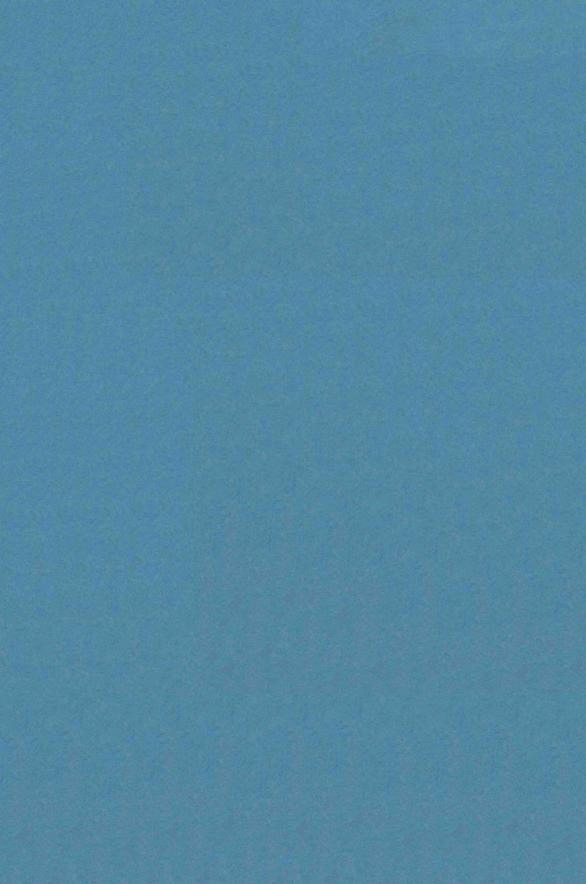
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THE GREEK ORTHODOX THEOLOGICAL REVIEW

The Greek Orthodox Theological Review is devoted to Greek Orthodox theological thought, scholarship, and discussion.

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^{*} Though the Review was originally announced as a quarterly, organizational changes make it necessary to reduce the number of issues, at least temporarily, to two annually. As a consequence, all 1954-55 subscriptions will be extended for another year.

THE GREEK ORTHODOX THEOLOGICAL REVIEW

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BOOK REVIEWS

METROPOLITAN MAXIMOS, The Syrian Church in Malabar of India. Ecumenical Patriarchate, Turkey, 1955. Pp. 92.

The observance of the 1500th anniversary of the Fourth Ecumenical Council a few years ago created interest in re-examining the influence that the decisions of the great Council of Chalcedon exercised upon the life and thought of the Church. The Chalcedonian definitions were studied and numerous articles were published by competent theologians dealing with the questions of Christology. The Theandric properties of the Person of Christ were again discussed, and the solution that the Fathers of Chalcedon had reached in their struggle to safeguard Orthodox Christology was respectfully approached by both Orthodox and non-Orthodox scholars.

Among the various contributions influenced by this anniversary is this study by His Eminence Metropolitan Maximos, dealing with the history, doctrine, and liturgical practices of this venerable Church. This work first appeared in a series of articles published in Orthodoxia the theological quarterly of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. In the first chapter of this book, which, as far as this reviewer knows, is the first such study on the subject in Greek, the author offers a sketch of the historical background of this ancient Church. Tradition has placed the Malabar Church among those Far-Eastern Churches founded by St. Thomas the Apostle. The Syrian lineage of this Church is explained by the author as a result of an exodus of the Christian population of Persia who were under the jurisdiction of the Church of Antioch. During the first part of the fourth century, King Sapor persecuted the Syrian Church in Persia and forced its members to leave the country. The persecuted Christians found refuge in Malabar, where they influenced the existing Church. Their influence still prevails and can be traced both in the liturgical language and in the doctrinal settings of the Malabar Church.

The Antiochean Theological Theories brought to Malabar by this group exerted a great influence upon the Indian Christians, thus explaining why the Malabar Church inherited Nestorianism and why it adheres to it to the present day. Undoubtedly, distance and language, racial and other circumstantial reasons had played their part in the separation of this Church from the main body of the Eastern Orthodox Church. The author, emphasizing this fact, feels that the few and, in

reality, minor points of difference must be approached not as they appear on the surface, but in the framework both of psychological and social circumstances, which have caused tragic conditions in the life of the Malabar Church. Though the decisions of the Council of Chalcedon are still not accepted, the Malabar Church, as the author explains, rejects Eutychianism and confesses the Orthodox Christological teaching that Christ is perfect God and perfect Man, born of the Virgin Mary. The Seven Sacraments, the invocation of the Theotokos and the Saints, prayers for the dead, invocation for the change of the Elements in the Liturgy, and the use of leavened bread in the Eucharist are points considered by the Malabar Church as essential parts of the true faith and indispensable to the edification of the faithful.

During the liturgical year, sixteen liturgies are used by the Malabar Church and the clergy are free to use any of them at their own discretion. Included are the Liturgies of St. John Chrysostom, St. James, St. Basil the Great, St. Matthew, St. Mark, St. Ignatius, St. Clement, and the twelve Apostles. Dominical and Marian Feasts are the same as those observed by the Eastern Orthodox Church. In the Creed of the Nicene-Constantinople, there are some insignificant and slight alterations, possibly resulting from pitfalls of translation. Generally speaking, in the Malabar Church, according to the author, there still remain intact the doctrinal traditions and practices which bear testimony to the antiquity and apostolicity of this ancient Church.

To be sure, the author's desire is to create interest among the Orthodox theologians and people in general to study the history and doctrine of this ancient Church, and approach the possibility of unity with an open mind. Those who sincerely pray, work, and long for the unity of the Church will consider the author's intention as noble and holy and his contribution indeed praiseworthy.

BISHOP ATHENAGORAS

ANNE FREMANTLE, ed., A Treasury of Early Christianity. New York: The Viking Press, 1953. Pp. xix, 625.

For many years, indeed, centuries, the writings of the early Fathers of the Church have been neglected by the great majority of the reading public. It seems that the literature of Christendom has been more or less relegated to the scholarly pursuits and libraries of theologians who are familiar with the greatness and immensity of Migne's *Patrologia*. The unfortunate result has been the lack of proper literary knowledge

and appreciation of important religious writings, which for seven centuries constituted the literature of the Christian world.

In this volume, Anne Fremantle has compiled a valuable cross-section of the prose and poetry of the early Church Fathers. Certainly, this comprehensive, topically arranged anthology not only fills a crying literary and religious need, but also affords readers an opportunity to understand better early Christian literature. No longer, thus, will a reader be able to excuse himself for not knowing about the first seven hundred years of Christian life and letters. Here, the author shows good taste and judgment in the selection of passages that were hitherto buried, but that will now delight and stimulate one. Divided into different topical sections, this book contains excerpts that throb with feeling and inspiration, and that indicate timelessness of thought. In these selections, to be sure, antiquity and the twentieth century are harmoniously linked together — morally, intellectually, and religiously.

The first section, entitled "The Christian Ideal," shows the kind of ideal person the Christian had in mind, wanted to be, and, in fact, often became. This part contains many fine writings and thoughts of great religious thinkers. In the *Epistle to the Corinthians*, for example, St. Clement I stirringly exhorts the righteous to bear with momentary defeats and disappointments: "Righteous men were persecuted, but it was by the lawless; they were imprisoned, but it was by the unholy. They were stoned by transgressors: they were slain by those who had conceived a detestable and unrighteous jealousy. Suffering these things, they endured nobly." St. Ignatius of Antioch in his letter to the Romans personifies the Christian ideal of courage and devotion, "Come fire and cross and grapplings with wild beasts, crushings of my whole body, come cruel tortures of the devil to assail me."

Mrs. Fremantle includes in her book selections with a human appeal. There is an interesting excerpt from *The Instructor* by Clement of Alexandria, who defined Christian etiquette for banquets and baths, and who scorned externals, "slavish habits," "shipwreck of drunkenness," human frivolities, gluttony, and bad manners. In addition, Tertullian continues this perennial theme, and he, too, stresses composure, tranquillity, humility, and moderation ("The desire to please by outward charms, which we know naturally invite lust, does not spring from a sound conscience."). Likewise, the human appeal is found in St. Gregory Thaumaturgus' *Panegyric On Origen*, in which Gregory pays warm tribute to the beloved and great teacher who changed the course and meaning of life of his devoted student.

Preoccupied with the spirituality and moral goodness of the clergy,

other Christian thinkers directed their attention to this important aspect. Among those quoted by the author is St. John Chrysostom, Archbishop of Constantinople and greatest orator among the Greek Fathers. Lax morals in monasteries, in the court, and among the people perturbed him, and in his On The Priesthood, he recognizes the magnitude and moral duty of ministerial office. St. Gregory I (The Great), who lived up to his own portrait of the ideal spiritual shepherd given in his Pastoral Care, believed that "every effort is to be made to induce him to undertake the office of bishop who mortifies his body with many hardships, and lives spiritually, and regards not the pleasures of this world, nor dreads any worldly trouble, but loves the will of God alone." And St. Isidore of Seville (Isidorus Hispalensis) has this to say to the spiritual leaders in The Perfection of the Clergy: "He, beyond all others, should make it his special duty to read the Scriptures, to study the canons, to imitate the examples of the saints, to give himself up to watching, fasting, and prayer, to preserve peace with his brethren, to despise no member of the Church, to condemn no one without proof, to excommunicate no one without consideration."

The sections on the martyrs and monks contain some fine passages that best characterize the endurance and dedication of the faithful in face of great obstacles, barbarities, ordeals, and tortures. The description of the martyrdom of St. Polycarp, who at the age of 86 was burned alive by Smyrna mobs; the martyrdom of St. Justin, who, along with six other Christians, was beheaded at the command of Rusticus, the prefect of Rome; the martyrdom of St. Cyprian, who was beheaded in Carthage, following the enactment of the Edict of Valerian; and the passion of St. Alban, the first martyr of Britain, who was beheaded for refusing to deny his Christian faith, are noble examples of self-control and discipline in the service of God. This heroism is best defined by Clement of Alexandria, who writes in The Miscellanies: "We call martyrdom perfection, not because the man comes to the end of his life as others, but because he exhibited the perfect work of love." This selfsacrifice of the Christians, furthermore, is shown in the way of life of the monks, who, abandoning all secular pleasures, undertook a life of meditation and seeking after the truth. Selections from the famous rules and letters of Saints Basil, Augustine, and Benedict are given in this part.

Another section contains the testimony of the Pagans, with the selection Against the Galileans, expounded by Julian the Apostate, being the foremost piece included by Mrs. Fremantle. The arguments to combat the attacks of Jews, Pagans, and Saracens are to be seen in St. Justin's argument with the learned Jewish rabbi, Trypho. There is a

section, in addition, that is entitled "The Definitions," which contains the earliest definitions and descriptions of Synods ("The Seven Ecumenical Councils"), Creeds (The Apostles' Creed, The Nicene Creed, and The Creed of St. Cyril), and Dogmas (Origen's On The Soul, Tertullian's The Rule of Faith). The Christian reaction to heretics, such as Gnostics, Manichaeans, Pelagians, Arians, and other sects that started out with emphasizing some part of the Christian truth, rather than the whole of it, is taken up by Socrates Scholasticus in The Murder of Hypatia and St. Gelasius I in Of Books to Be Accepted and Rejected. It is brought out, moreover, that only a "life of prayer" can defend one against the ravages of doubt and pessimism. As St. Maximus the Confessor (Maximus of Constantinople) writes in The Centuries on Charity, "At the summit of pure prayer, two states can be distinguished, one for the active, one for the contemplative. The first is in the soul, the effect of the fear of God, and of good hope; and the second, of the fervor of divine love and of total purification."

Mrs. Fremantle's volume ends with a section of poetry, which, despite some awkwardness encountered in verse translation, shows the beauty of thought and serenity of mind of great religious figures who lived for the sake of honesty and goodness — all of them servants of God. The inner light of spirituality is seen in Elizabeth Barrett Browning's translation of Curb for Wild Horses, by Clement of Alexandria; in St. Ephraim Syrus's On the Death of a Child; in St. Ambrose's The Hymns of the Little Hours, translated by J. H. Newman. The simplicity and beneficence of Christian thinking is eloquently brought out by St. John Damascene in his exceptional and melodic poem, The Stichera of the Last Kiss. Upon completing a rewarding reading of this book, what Christian mind can remain unmoved when reading Damascene's beautiful lines:

"What is our life? A fading flower;
A vapour, passing soon away;
The Dewdrops of the early morning:
Come, gaze upon the tombs today.
Where now is youth? Where now is beauty,
And grace of form, and sparkling eye?
All, like the summer grass, are withered;
All are abolished utterly!
While our eyes with grief grow dim,
Let us weep to Christ for him!

"When, hurried forth by fearful angels,
The soul forsakes her earthly frame,
Then friends and kindred she forgetteth,
And this world's caves have no more claim;
Then passed are vanity and labour;
She hears the Judge's voice alone;
She sees the ineffable tribunal:
Where we, too, cry with suppliant moan,
For the sins that soul hath done,
Grant Thy pardon, Holy One!"

GEORGE A. PANICHAS

VASIL T. ISTAVRIDIS, Ἰωάννης Γ. Παναγιωτίδης, ὁ βίος καὶ τὸ ἔργον του (John G. Panagiotides: His Life and Work). Istanbul: The Patriarchal Press, 1954. Paper. Pp. 36, frontispiece.

In this small book, Dr. Vasil T. Istavridis, professor of Oecumenical Christianity at the Greek Orthodox Theological School of Halki, and formerly a member of the faculty at the Greek Archdiocese Theological School in Brookline, Massachusetts, as well as a holder of a doctor of theology degree from the School of Theology, Boston University, presents to the Greek-reading public and to the Orthodox world as a whole a biographical and bibliographical account of one of Greek Orthodoxy's outstanding exponents and teachers, Professor John G. Panagiotides, professor of Mediaeval and Modern Church History at the Theological School of Halki. It is only proper that this book should have been written by Professor Istavridis who was a former student of Panagiotides and who was reared in the same town (Βαφεοχώριον) ¹ as Professor Panagiotides. It is indeed a fitting tribute to the master on the occasion of his completion of thirty years of service to the Patriarchal Theological School of Halki.

Dr. Istavridis begins his introductory account of the great teacher with the statement: "Professor John G. Panagiotides has this year completed a thirty year period in the service of the Holy Theological School of Halki. In the course of life certain historical milestones make us stop for a while to recall the past and to utilize its lessons for a better future" (p. 3).

The account of Dr. Istavridis is divided into seven parts: (1) a brief introduction; (2) a biographical outline of Professor Panagiotides;

¹ Near Thessaloniki.

(3) a chronological account of the writings of Professor Panagiotides, including his work in the field of the Scriptures, history, philosophy, apologetics, homiletics, his publications in the field of youth work, translations, and school texts; (4) an account of his teaching, in which Dr. Istavridis draws extensively from Professor Panagiotides' life and writings to illustrate the elderly teacher's great contributions to the interpretation and application of a true Orthodox life; (5) the Divine Sermon, in which section Dr. Istavridis traces John Panagiotides' homiletic activity during the past thirty years; (6) the epilogue; and (7) bibliographical aids complete the septenary division of Professor Istavridis' account.

This small book, which is written in clear, concise Greek, has a threefold value. First, it serves as a tribute to a teacher, writer, and lecturer who has devoted his long professional life to the propagation and the practical interpretation of the Orthodox faith. Secondly, it gives us an accurate biographical account of one of Orthodoxy's outstanding lay professors and scholars. And finally, it provides us with a compact, annotated bibliography of the works of Professor Panagiotides which can be readily and quickly used by anyone who wishes to draw from or write upon the various subjects that Professor Panagiotides has worked on during the past thirty years.

Perhaps one sentence from Dr. Istavridis' account would serve to illustrate succinctly Professor Panagiotides' philosophy of religion: "Real religion is not a religion of forms. To be a real Christian, it is not sufficient merely to have been baptized and to have received chrismation. Our participation in the Divine Liturgy and Holy Communion—in fact, all religious rites are not enough, when they are not accompanied also by the genuine attitude of the soul (πραγματική ψυχική διάθεσις). Substance and depth are all-important in religion; form is of secondary importance" (p. 18).

Professor Panagiotides has striven to teach, preach, and live the Orthodox faith. One might apply to him a quotation from the *Don Juan* of Lord Byron:

"But words are things, and a small drop of ink Falling like dew upon a thought, produces That which makes thousands, perhaps millions, think."

This, John Panagiotides has done for countless Orthodox communicants and for his many students and colleagues. For bringing this to our attention we owe many of thanks to Dr. Vasil T. Istavridis.

JOHN E. REXINE

PANAYOTIS I. BRATSIOTIS, Έκκλησιαστής (Ecclesiastes). Athens, 1951. Pp. vi, 143.

Professor Bratsiotis, of the Theological School of the University of Athens, is the author of many constructive studies in the Old Testament as well as in the New Testament field which reflect a high standard of scholarship. He has again made a valuable contribution to contemporary Orthodox Biblical literature with the publication of this work. Without exaggeration, *Ecclesiastes* fills a long felt need in Scripture commentaries.

The aim of this book, as stated in its preface, is not only to present it to the specialist of Old Testament studies, but also to make it accessible, as much as possible, to the educated Greek-reading public who are interested in the Old Testament as a book of religion, history, and literature. In order that the author may attain this goal, he has purposely omitted many critical discussions on textual, philological, and exegetical questions. Instead, he stresses the spiritual essence of the book in terms of religious and moral values.

The first part of the book is an introduction dealing with *isagogics*; the second contains the LXX version of *Ecclesiastes*, a very successful translation of the Masoretic text, important textual and reading variations between the ancient versions and codices, highly informative patristic quotations, and finally the author's commentary.

The introduction, which is actually taken and incorporated from the author's General Introduction to the Old Testament (published in Athens, 1937), begins with a presentation of the traditional arguments for Solomon as the author of the *Ecclesiastes*, and then proceeds to defend the Solomonic authorship, accepting without hesitation that the contents of the books may be easily adapted to the other biblical sources dealing with the life and work of Solomon.

Although the author is fully aware that today very few critics and interpreters continue to adhere to the traditional attribution, and acknowledges that the old Jewish view concerning the authorship of *Ecclesiastes* is not unanimous, he emphasizes this tradition more than is warranted. Also, he gives much attention to the superscription without taking into consideration the presence of the enigmatic title *Qoheleth*.

While he admits that the book is distinguished for its spirit of skepticism, he also maintains that the general teaching does not stray at all from the spirit of the ancestral religion. This is so because the Ecclesiastes, along with exaltation of vanity and the insistence upon pleasure as a present good, indicates the necessity of an orientation toward eternity, for the soul after death is subject to judgment. Consequently, the superficial, pessimistic agnosticism of the book is not consistent, according to Mr. Bratsiotis, because the pessimism is ultimately overcome by optimism inspired by faith in God.

It is clear that Bratsiotis accepts the philological unity and integrity of the *Ecclesiastes* and differs sharply with the opinion of modern scholarship over certain passages which are generally considered and accepted as later additions and interpolations. He believes that even the epilogue originated from the very hands of the author and may be considered as the organic epilogue of the main body of the book. While the author states the arguments against the Solomonic authorship objectively, and while he makes it clear that the various points presented by different scholars against the traditional attribution are important and serious, he fails to discuss them at length and to meet them adequately.

Certain omissions should be noted, particularly in the part where the discussion concerns the influence of Greek philosophy upon Qoheleth's thought. Also, he fails to give an adequate treatment of the larger background of wisdom in the lands of the Fertile Crescent and the general scope and meaning of Hebrew wisdom literature as well.

The exegetical commentary is given in paragraphs, and the order is: (1) The LXX version, (2) a translation of the Masoretic text, (3) critical notes, (4) brief introductory remarks, (5) the commentary which is primarily based upon the LXX text and which is followed by a verse by verse exegetical interpretation. Here, certain students of the Bible will find some points with which they will not agree, for the author seems to adhere vigorously to the spirit of the traditional interpretation. On the whole, the commentary is most valuable and interesting for its rich and plentiful material, the skillful method of presentation of the problems examined, the extensive patristic quotations, and the excellent renditions of the Hebrew text.

The present reviewer considers this second part of the book a real contribution in the field of Scripture Commentaries.

DIMITRI ZACHAROPOULOS

ATHENAGORAS KOKKINAKIS, BISHOP OF ELAIA, The Akathist Hymn. New York: Greek Archdiocese of North and South America, 1956. Pp. 88.

The religious period during which evening services are generally held on the first five Fridays of the Great Lent is one that is dedicated to the Virgin Mary. And for many Orthodox faithful, the familiar words, "Hail Mary," will be even more meaningful after a reading of *The Akathist Hymn*, which has been translated into many languages by scholars and theologians. The original text found here has been translated into English by His Grace, Bishop of Elaia, Athenagoras Kokkinakis, Dean of the Greek Theological School.

Proper and concise translation, of course, has always presented difficult, even baffling problems to writers. In fact, the English author and traveler, George Borrow, once wrote that "Translation is at best an echo." Nonetheless, in his translation, the Bishop of Elaia has not only captured the delicate beauty of the original Hymn, which is composed of 24 stanzas, but has also made it possible for worshippers to follow more easily and coherently the "Hail Mary" service, and thus more fully appreciate Orthodox traditions and Christian piety and spirituality.

In his comprehensive and informative introduction, Bishop Athenagoras provides an interesting analysis of both the historical and theological details relating to the composition and significance of *The Akathist Hymn*. The author and actual date of the Hymn are essentially unknown, despite numerous theories and suppositions. It is stressed, however, that there are many who believe that the Hymn was written in A.D. 626 during the reign of Herakleios, when the infidel hordes of Arabs attacked the capital city of the Byzantine Empire and threatened its very existence.

"Finally," writes the Bishop of Elaia, "the outnumbered people of Constantinople wrought a great victory and their enemies were dispersed and forced to retreat in great disorder. The people, after the victory, thronged the ancient Church of the Virgin Mary in Vlahernae, on the Golden Horn, and standing, they all sang the Hairetismoi as a thanksgiving to the Virgin, "The Invincible Champion.' From then on, the Hymn was called *Akathist*, because according to George Pisides: On foot, people at night sang the Hymn to the Mother of the Divine Word' (Migne, P.G., vol. 92, p. 1353)."

Theologically, the writer shows, the Hymn can be divided into four parts: The first part (stanzas 1-6) describes the announcement brought to the Virgin Mary by the Holy Archangel; the second part (7-12) nar-

to such readers, and others with a true sense of religious responsibility, that this work is addressed.

Combining his ever-present preciseness of scholarship and the strength of his spiritual conviction, Dr. Cavarnos clearly indicates that Byzantine sacred music is characterized "by unsurpassed power and spirituality." Its central aim, he explains, is not to elicit an aesthetic response, which all too often is akin to sensualness, but rather to effect a sublime purgation of undesirable feelings and passions, thus creating "feelings such as contrition, love, peace, and spiritual joy and aspiration . . ."

The author stresses the fact that from the very beginning Christianity recognized hymn-singing and psalm-singing as means of worship and spiritual development. Dr. Cavarnos' observations are often substantiated with statements by the Eastern Fathers regarding the values of psalmody. Among those quoted are St. Athanasius the Great, St. John Chrysostom, St. Cassian, St. John Climacos, and St. Neilos the Ascetic, who says: "'Psalmody puts the passions to sleep and stills the intemperance of the body.'"

In regard to the execution of Byzantine church music, Dr. Cavarnos writes: "It must, in the first place, be chanted in a state of attention or inner wakefulness, with fear of God, devoutness, contrition, humility." Of particular interest to the Orthodox adherents are the author's findings, based on the practices of the early Christians and the teachings of the Eastern Fathers, that languidness and forced and unduly loud chanting are to be avoided; and that Byzantine music, intrinsically monophonic and antiphonic, "was from the very beginning wholly vocal, not at all instrumental."

Byzantine Sacred Music contains an excerpt from a composition by Petros the Peloponnesian (18th century), a famous cantor after the fall of Constantinople. In addition, the writer includes two pages of select statements of Eastern Fathers concerning psalmody. Notes and an index of proper names are also included.

To members of the Orthodox faith and those interested in Eastern Christian teachings and practices, this treatise will be a highly valuable and rewarding interpretation of an often ignored but important subject. And those who know, or have had the good fortune to come under Dr. Cavarnos' influence, will again experience those illuminating moments that emanate from the sincerity and true Christian conscience of this pious philospoher and writer.

George A. Panichas

shown in her effort to emphasize the contributions of the people of Cyprus through the ages in the field of the fine arts. Included here are numerous illustrations depicting the ruins of ancient Cyprus and the archeological findings of the Mycenaean and Minoan Ages. There are also many illustrations proving that Byzantine architecture and iconography once flourished in Cyprus. Examples of this are the many churches and monasteries which are described in a beautiful manner by the author. All in all, this volume offers opportunity for readers to admire the cultural contributions of the islanders of Cyprus. The author is a prolific writer. Among the many books written by her are the following: Kastra ke Polities tou Moria, Manto Mavrogenous, Iles Blanches, Ellenides Poitries, and Dodekanisa. Indeed, the numerous works of this author indicate literary and artistic excellence; all those who are familiar with her works anxiously await the publication of the second volume, Cyprus.

BISHOP ATHENAGORAS



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Rev. Dean Timothy Andrews

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NOTES AND NEWS

SECOND INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON PATRISTIC STUDIES

The first Conference of Patristic scholars was held at Oxford, September 24 to 27, 1951. In spite of a somewhat limited attendance, it proved to be a great success, and it was then decided to repeat the experiment in 1955. This time the number of enrolled participants exceeded 430. The gathering was truly international, and in fact very "ecumenical" in spirit. It was an impressive manifestation of the existing fellowship and solidarity of scholars, crossing all national and denominational borders. The number of apologies was as significant as the number of those in attendance. Many scholars, for various reasons, were unable to come, but expressed their interest in the work of the conference. Both combined together reveal to what astonishing extent the study of the Holy Fathers commands the attention of scholars in our time. It was unfortunate that two other large international conferences in the cognate and related fields took place almost immediately before the Oxford meeting, namely the Congress of Historians in Rome and the Byzantinological Congress in Constantinople.

The program of the Oxford Conference was well planned, but rather overcrowded. And the inevitable division in sections, sitting simultaneously, makes the comprehensive or synoptic view of the congress rather difficult. There were but few plenary sections with addresses and lectures. Two plenary sessions were reserved for discussion on special themes: one on Origen, who is a subject of special concern in recent times; the other on Eschatology, introduced by two papers by the present writer and Dom B. Capelled, Louvain. In addition, ten "Master Themes" were chosen for discussion in groups. Each group had four sessions with a special introduction each time. The list of topics discussed is characteristic by its variety: "The Fathers and Biblical Exegesis"; "The Constantinian Era"; "Problems in Christology"; "Monastic Origins"; "Early History of Liturgy"; "The Fathers and Hellenistic Philosophy"; "Fundamental Principles in Literary Criticism"; "Early Christianity and Contemporary Judaism"; "Patristic Spirituality"; "Patristic Ideals and Their Present Significance." Besides this, a large number of diverse "communications" was presented in sections. It was clearly revealed at Oxford that "Patristic" had become

a field of intensive research and study, too wide to allow for one man to be competent in all areas. Some sixty years ago it was possible even for great masters to contend that some definitive results had been achieved in the study of the Early Church and that nothing could be added. But scholarship can never stand still. And in our days almost nothing is left of the impressive and pretentious synthesis in the field of the Early Church History that seemed so sure and certain by the end of the last century. In many respects the new interpretation means a return to Tradition. The present revival of Patristic Studies is but one aspect of the recent theological reawakening throughout the whole world.

A number of Orthodox scholars and students participated in the work of the Conference. The opening session was attended by His Eminence, the Archbishop of Thyateira. Following is the list of the Orthodox members of the Conference:

B. Anagnostopoulos, Halki ("Mysterion in the Sacramental Theology of St. John of Damascus").

Very Rev. Anthony Bloom, London.

Dr. S. Bolshakoff, Oxford ("Influence of Patristic Studies on Modern Russian Mystics").

Prof. Constantine Bonis, University of Athens ("Patrologische Studien der letzten zehn Jahre in Griechenland").

Rt. Rev. Professor Georges Florovsky, Columbia University ("Patristic Theology of the Church").

Rev. Basil Krivosheine, Oxford ("St. Symeon the New Theologian and the Early Christian Popular Piety").

Professor Vladimir Leontovich, London and Frankfurt, a/M.

Professor Vladimir Lossky, Jr., Paris ("Le Problème de la 'Vision face en face' et la Tradition Patristique de Byzance").

Jean Meyendorff, Institut de Théologie Orthodoxe, Paris ("Notes sur la Tradition Dionysienne en Orient").

Rev. Vladimir Palashkovsky, Paris ("The Eucharistic Theology of St. Irenaeus").

Professor Leonid Pariysky, Theological Academy, Leningrad.

Very Rev. Vladimir Rodzianko, Serbian Church, London ("Filioque in Patristic Thought").

Professor C. A. Sborovsky, Theological Academy, Moscow.

Professor Mark A. Siotis, University of Salonika.

Archimandrite Sophronios Sacharoff, Paris.

Archimandrite Alexios Van Der Mensbrughe, Paris.

It was unanimously agreed that there should be another Conference on Patristics and that it should meet again in Oxford, in 1959, and an international advisory committee was elected to assist Professor Frank L. Cross in the preparations. It seems that a kind of "tradition" has been created — to have Patristic Conferences at Oxford every four years.

THE VERY REV. GEORGES FLOROVSKY

CHRONICLE OF THE HOLY CROSS ORTHODOX THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL

With the opening of the 1955-56 academic year at the Holy Cross Orthodox Theological School, the following faculty changes and appointments were announced: The Rt. Rev. Athenagoras was appointed as Dean and Chairman of the Department of Systematic Theology; The Very Rev. Eusebius A. Stephanou, Sub-Dean and Professor of Comparative Theology and Apologetics; The Very Rev. Georges Florovsky, Visiting Professor of Dogmatic Theology; The Very Rev. Sılas Koskinas, Instructor in New Testament and Liturgics; Mr. George Liacopoulos, promoted to Associate Professor of Greek; Mr. George A. Panichas, Assistant Professor of English and Managing Editor of The Greek Orthodox Theological Review; The Rev. John Papadopoulos, promoted to Associate Professor of Christian Ethics and Dogmatics; Mr. John Papajohn, Assistant Professor of Psychology and Dean of Students; The Very Rev. Kallistos Samaras, Instructor in Orthodox Theology; The Rev. Dr. George Tsoumas, promoted to Professor of Church History; The Rev. John Vansuch, Instructor in Homiletics; Mr. Christos Vrionides, Professor of Sacred Music; The Very Rev. Athanasios Rizos, Lecturer in New Testament and Christian Ethics; Mr. John Alevizos, Lecturer in Administrative Science; Mr. Demetrios Dukas, Lecturer in Byzantine Art and Hagiography; Mr. Nicholas Poulos, Bursar and Executive Secretary; The Rev. Christodoulos Kallos, Assistant Librarian; Lt. Spyros Gavrilides, United States Navy, Dietitian; and Mr. George Bebis, Tutor and Instructor in Greek.

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Members of the faculty addressed numerous gatherings during the academic year. Bishop Athenagoras gave the sermon on September 14, 1955, The Elevation of the Holy Cross, and on September 26, 1955, The Feast of St. John the Evangelist and Theologian, Patron Saint of the Theological School. On January 30, 1956, Dr. John P. Cavarnos gave the address on The Feast of the Three Hierarchs, Greek Letters Day. On March 25, 1956, The Feast of the Annunciation, Professor George Liacopoulos gave the address. In addition, Professor Petros Moutevelis addressed the student body of the Theological School on October 28, 1955, in observance of the Italian attack on Greece. Dr. Constantine P. Cavarnos addressed an audience at the New York Archdiocese on January 28, 1956, and spoke in regard to Greek Letters Day. The Very Rev. Eusebius Stephanou presided at the Pan-Orthodox Federation, held at Brown University, March 25, 1956. On March 16, 1956, Bishop Athenagoras spoke on "Religious Truth and Orthodoxy" at the Episcopal Church of the Holy Spirit, Matapan, Mass.; on March 18, 1956, the Bishop spoke at the Connecticut College of Women on "The Purpose of Mental and Spiritual Discipline"; and on April 22, 1956, Bishop Athenagoras spoke on "The Meaning of Lent" at the Worcester (Mass.) Pan-Orthodox Liturgy.

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On October 30, 1955, Matriculation and Rassophoria services were held at the Holy Cross Orthodox Theological School. The address of the Dean, Bishop Athenagoras, delivered in ancient Greek, is given below:

ΤΑ ΣΗΜΑΝΤΙΚΑ ΤΗΣ ΟΡΘΟΔΟΞΟΥ ΘΕΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ

«Καὶ ὁ Λόγος σὰοξ ἐγένειο καὶ ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν».

Καθηγεμόνα τὸν Θεολόγον Εὐαγγελιστὴν κεκτημένος τοῖς Ἐκείνου μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ἐμοῖς ρήμασι πρὸς ἐστίασιν ὑμᾶς καλῶ, ἵνα ἐν τῆ εὐσήμω ταύτη ἡμέρα κατατριφήσητε. Οὐ γὰς οἰδα ἔτερα τῆ περιστάσει κατάλληλα οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἀξιώτερα. Τῆς γὰς ἐξ ὕψους ἀληθείας σημαντικὰ καὶ τοῦ πληρώματος τῆς θεογνωσίας μαρτύρια καθεστήκασιν ἔκδηλα, ὡς οὕτως παρὰ τοῖς 'Αγίοις ἀνωμολόγηται. Τὶς γὰς μείζονα τούτων ἀπεφήνατο; "Απερ Μωσέως ἡ μεγαλόνοια οὐκ ἡδυνήθη συνιέναι καὶ τῶν σοφῶν ἡ γλῶσσα ἐξειπεῖν, ταῦτα ἡ τοῦ ἀλιέως πίστις τῷ ἀγκίστρω τῆς ἀγάπης καταβυθισθεῖσα τῷ στήθει τοῦ Λόγου ἀνείλκυσε καὶ ἐπιπολῆς παρέθηκε τὰ ἐκ βάθους, κοινωνοὺς ἡμᾶς ποιησάμενος τῶν ἀρρήτων τῆς περὶ Λόγου ἀληθείας. Τὴν ταύτης ἔννοιαν βραχεῖ τῷ λόγω ἐπιχειρῶν προτιθέναι ὡς τὴν ὄντως Θεολογίαν, ἐν ταυτότητι οὐσαν ἀχωρίστω τῆ σοφία τῆ ἐν καινότητι, ἐπικαλοῦμαι σὺν τῆ Θεία ἀρρωγῆ καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἐπιστασίαν.

'Απ' άρχῆς και μέχρις τῶν ἐσχάτων ἡ Θεολογία ἡ καθ' ἡμᾶς δικαιοῦσα ἑαυτήν, οἰκονομία θεωρίας τυγχάνουσα, διατελεῖ ἔκφρασις ἐν συστήματι τῶν ἀληθειῶν τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ ἀποκαλύψεως. Διὸ σὸν αὐτῆ τῆ Θρησκεία τοῦ Λόγου οὐχὶ δὲ καθ' ἐαυτὴν ὑφίσταται συνεμπλεκομένη ἀγῶσι καὶ ἐπιθέσεσι ἔκ τε τοῦ πεδίου τῆς πράξεως καὶ τῆς θεωρίας ἐπερχομένων. 'Ως ἔστι κοινόν, ἡ κατ' ἄνθρωπον σοφία μεγαλαυχοῦσα πολλάκις ἀπέρριψε τῆς Θρησκευτικῆς ἀληθείας τὴν ἀξίαν, θεωρήσασα ἑαυτὴν ὑπερέχουσαν ἐκείνης καὶ μᾶλλον προιοῦσαν. 'Η παρωχημένη ἤδη περὶ τὰ ἱστορικὰ θεμέλια τοῦ Χριστιανισμοῦ κριτική, ἥ τε χαλκευθείσα ἀντίθεσις αὐτοῦ ἔναντι τῶν διινεκῶς αὐξουσῶν ἐπιτυχιῶν τῶν περὶ τὴν ἐπιστημονικὴν τεχνολογίαν, καθεστήκασι κέντρα κύρια τῆς ἐπιθέσεως. Καίτοι γε τὸ κρίσιμον οὐ παρελήλυθε πλὴν ἡ δυναμικὴ ὀξύτης τῆς ἀντιθέσεως παρήκμασε, θεωρηθείσης τῆς τε κριτικῆς ἀδυνάτου δεῖξαι τὴν τοῦ Λόγου Θρησκείαν ψευδῆ καὶ ἄλογον καὶ τῆς φυσικῆς ἐρεύνης ἀνικάνου ἀντιλαδέσθαι τῶν καθ' ὅλου, ἅ τε τῶν ἐπὶ μέρους στοχαζομένης. Τὰ γὰρ καθ' ὅλου ὡς τὸ πάλαι οὕτω καὶ νῦν τῆς Φιλοσοφίας εἰσὶ ἢ καὶ συνθέτουσα τὰ ἐπὶ μέρους νοεῖ αὐτὰ ὡς τὸ πάλαι οῦτω τοῦ "Οντος.

'Αλλ' ἐν τοῖς οὖσι τούτοις περιειλημμένα εἰσὶν οὐ μόνα τὰ περὶ τὴν ἔξω φύσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ στοιχεῖα ἔτερα, ἀπροὶξ ἐχόμενα τῆς καθολικῆς ἐμπειρίας, ὡς οὐ μόνον τὸ τὴν φύσιν εἰδέναι ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τὶ δέον ποιεῖν καὶ τὸ τὶ πιστεύειν, σύντριτα ταῦτα συνοικοδόμηνται τῷ συνόλφ τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου βίου. 'Η τριπλῆ αὕτη τῆς ἐμπειρίας μορφὴ τό τε γνῶναι τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ ποιεῖν τὰ προσήκοντα καὶ πιστεύειν τὰ ἐς ἀεὶ μένοντα, ἐν ἴσφ ἐκτιμούμενα μέτρφ, διασφαλίζουσιν ἀδιαίρετον τὸ ἐν ἡμῖν εἰναι, ἀποκλειομένου τοῦ ἀνωμάλου τοῦ ἐκ τῆς ὑπὲρ τὸ ἔν προτιμήσεως τοῦ ἐτέρου τῶν στοιχείων προσγιγνομένου.

Καὶ τὸ μὲν τὴν ἀλήθειαν γνῶναι δῆλον ἔχ τε τῆς κατ' ἄτομον καὶ τῆς κοινῆς ἐφέσεως. Καίτοι γε ἡ περὶ αὐτὴν διάθεσις φυσικὴ οὖσα καὶ κοινὴ ἐπδίωξις ἔδρασται τῷ λόγφ τοῦ δύνασθαι ἡμᾶς γνῶναι. Εὕρημα ὅθεν οὖσα φυσικὸν δείχνυσιν ἡμῖν τὴν ἡμετέραν οὖσίαν ἐχ τῶν ἐφ' ἡμῖν ὁριζομένην, ὡς οὖχ οἰους ἡμᾶς είναι ὑποτάξαι ἡ μόνον τὸ καταγράψαι καὶ ἐρμηνεῦσαι τήν τε κίνησιν καὶ τὴν ἐν κοινωνία συνάφειαν καὶ τὴν ἔσω κλίσιν τε καὶ διάθεσιν καὶ ἐτέρους πλείστους παράγοντας ἀρχῶν ἀντικειμένων ἀλλήλαις. Διὰ τοῦτο ὡς οὐχ οἰον τὴν ἀλήθῆ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου φύσιν γνῶναι περικεχαρακωμένην ἐν τῆ περὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν στροφῆ οὖτως οὐχ οἰον τὸν ἄνθρωπον εἰδέναι ὅλον ἐν τῷ στοχάζεσθαι μόνον τὴν ἔξω καὶ φαινομένην ὑπόστασιν αὐτοῦ.

Τούτου ἕνεκεν ἥτε ἰδεατὴ θεωρία σφαλερὰ ἀπεδέδεικται ῆτε πραγματιστικὴ ἐλλειπής, τῆς μὲν ἀστοχούσης ὡς τὸ νοεῖν μὴ ὡς ἕν τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἔχουσαν τῆς δὲ ἀνεπάρκειαν ἐλεγχομένης ὡς οὐ τὸ νοεῖν διαφορὰν εἰδοποιὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου θέλουσαν. Ἡ οὖν θεμελιώδης ἀρχὴ ἀργ ἡς πᾶσα κριτικὴ τῆς κατ' ἄνθρωπον ἀληθείας ἐξικνεῖται οὐκ ἐν τῆ νοήσει μόνη εὕρηται μή δε ἐν τῆ ὑλικῆ συναφῆ μόνη ἀλλ' ἐν τῆ ἀδιαλλάκτα ἀντινομία καὶ ἀντιθέσει ἀμφοτέρων, ἐν ἡ ὁ νοῶν τὴν ρίζαν τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ εἰναι εὐρίσκει βαθυτέραν τῆς τοῦ διανοείσθαι. Ἐμφανῆ δείγματα τῆς ἀντινομίας ταύτης σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔστωσαν τὰ φιλοσοφήματα τὰ ἀλλήλοις ἀντιντιθέμενα τὰ πάλαι καὶ τὰ ἐπ' ἐσχάτων ἀναφανέντα ἔκδηλον τῶν οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν κλοιὸν ποιουμένων μαρτυρούμενα. ᾿Αλλ' ἐν τῷ γνῶναι τοῦ κλοιοῦ τούτου τὰ ὅρια σύνοιὸε ὁ ἄνθρωπος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν πεπερασμένην μὲν οὖσαν λακτίζομένην τε διηνεκῶς ὑπὸ τῶν οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν. Πλήν γε οὐ μόνον σύν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἀλλὰ καὶ μέρη αὐτοῦ ταῦτα πεφικέναι μεθ' ὧν τὸ ὁλοκληροῦσθαι τὸν χαρακτῆρα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ προσωπκότητος ἔχει. Τούτφ τῷ τρόπφ κατανοεῖ τὴν ἐαυτοῦ ἔξάρτησιν ἐκ δυνάμεως παρ' ἡς τὸ είναι καὶ τὸ γίγνεσθαι αὐτοῦ καθορίζεται τοῦ κέντρου τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ὑπάρξεως πέραν ἑαυτῆς ἑξικνουμένου.

Τῆς δυνάμεως ταύτης τὴν πλήρη ἔλλαμψιν ἡ Θρησκεία τοῦ Λόγου ἀπεκάλυψε, τοῦ μὲν Λόγου γενομένου ὅπερ οὐκ ἦν πρότερον τοῦ δὲ ἀνθρώπου ἀναλαμδανομένου ἐν ῷ περ ἦν τὸ πρότερον. «Καὶ ὁ Λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο καὶ ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν». 'Εν τούτω οὐ μόνον τὸ μυστήριον εὕρηται τῆς Θείας ἀποκαλύψεως ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ λύτρωσις τῆς ἐκ τοῦ κλοιοῦ τῶν οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν, ἐν οἰς ἥ τε φθορὰ καὶ ὁ θάνατος ὁλοκληροῦται. 'Εν γὰρ τῷ Λόγο ἢ τε χάρις καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια ἔνεισι τῆς μὲν χάριτος ἐλευθερίαν παρεχομένης τῆς δὲ ἀληθείας ἐν τῷ συνείναι ἡμᾶς τῷ Θεῷ ὁλοκληρουμένης. 'Εν Αὐτῷ ἄπαν τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς ἐμπειρίας ἔδρασται σύντριτά τε τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς είναι ἐν ἀπολύτω τελειότητι εὕρηνται. Τό τε γνῶναι τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ τὸ πράττειν προσήκοντα καὶ τὸ πιστεύειν τὰ ἀὲι μένοντα συνειρμολόγηνται, ζῶντά τε καὶ μένοντα ἔν τῆ διφυεί Αὐτοῦ θεανδρικῆ ὑποστάσει. Τὸ γὰρ γνῶναι τὴν ἀλήθειαν οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλο εἰ μὴ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐν τῷ Θεῷ καὶ τὸν Θεὸν ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπως είναι καὶ μένειν ἀχωρίστως καὶ ἀσυγχύτως ἐσαεί. Τὸ δὲ ποιεῖν τὰ προσήκοντα ἴσον τῷ ἀγαπᾶν τὸν Θεὸν καὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὡς ἔτερον είναι λογισαμένους. Τὸ πιστεύειν τὰ ἐσαεὶ καὶ ἀεὶ ὡσαύτως ἔχοντα οὐκ ἔστιν ἔτερον ἢ τὸ γνῶναι τὸν Θεὸν καὶ δν ἀπέστειλεν 'Ιησοῦν Χριστόν», εἴπεν ὁ Λόγος καθορίζων τοῦ πιστεύειν τὴν αἰωνίαν καὶ σωτηριώδη οὐσίαν.

Ταῦτα τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς τυγχάνουσι Θεολογίας κεφάλαια ἐφ' Τν ὅτε βίος ἡδρασται καὶ ἡ θεωρητικὴ γνῶσις τεθεμελείωται.

Ταύτης οὖν τὴν οἰκονομίαν κεκλήμεθα Ινα μαθόντες, τῷ νοὶ καὶ τῷ καρδία ἐλλαμφθέντες μεταδώσωμεν, 'Ορθοδοξίαν ταύτην καὶ 'Ορθοπραξίαν δεικνῦναι, οὐ μόνον λόγοις ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔργοις δικαιουμένην. Τὸ γὰρ θεολογεῖν κεχωρισμένον τοῦ κατὰ τὸν Λόγον ξῆν οἰκοδομὴν οὐ προσάγει, ἄρνησιν μᾶλλον ἡ πίστιν καὶ αὕξησιν πνεύματος πραξει πληροῦσθαι καὶ τὸν Θεὸν οὐ μόνον δμολογεῖν χείλεσι ἀλλὰ καὶ καρδία καὶ λόγοις καὶ πράξεισιν ὑμνεῖσθαι καὶ μεγαλύνεσθαι. 'Εν τούτω γὰρ μόνω ἡ ἀπέκδυσις τοῦ παλαιοῦ ἡν ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος ὑπετίθετο τοῖς βουλομένοις τὴν τελειότητα ἔχεσθαι καὶ ἡ ἐπένδυσις τοῦ νέου ἀνθρώπου κατώρθωται.

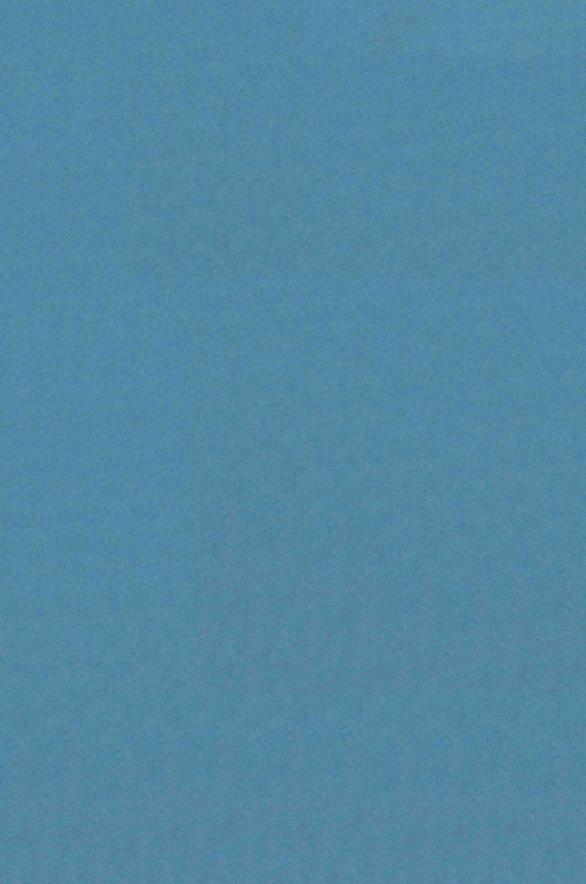
Οἱ ἐνδυσάμενοι τοίνυν σήμερον τὴν τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ καθοσιώσεως τήδδενον ἀπεκδύσασθε τὸν παλαιὸν περιδαλλόμενοι τὸν νέον τὸν ἀνακαινούμενον κατ' εἰκόνα τοῦ κτίσαντος αὐτόν. Τῆς ἀληθείας τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ μῦσται καταστάντες ἀνακοινώσητε ταύτην οὐκ ἐν κρυπτῷ ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῶν δωμάτων, δύναμιν ταύτην είναι, χάριν τε καὶ σοφίαν τὴν ἐν καινότητι καὶ Θεολογίαν τετελειωμένην, ὀρθοδοξίαν ἔν τε τῆ πράξει καὶ τῆ θεωρία βεδαιουμένην, πρὸς δόξαν τοῦ αἰωνίου Λόγου ἐν ῷ τῆς ἀληθείας τὸ πλήρωμα καὶ παρ' οὖ πᾶν δώρημα τέλειον ἡμῖν δέδοται.

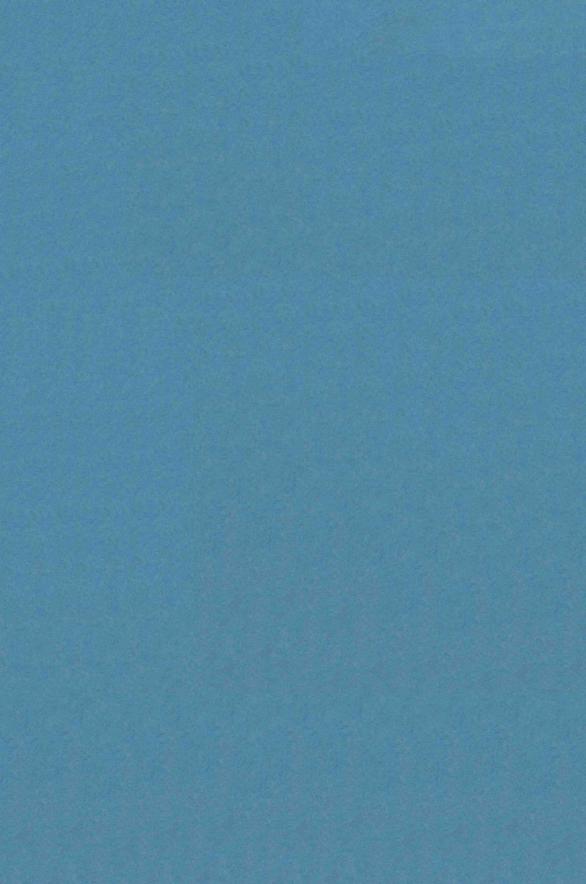
Αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

Brookline, Mass. "Έτει Σωτηρίφ 1955 'Οπτωδρίφ 80ῆ

NOTES ON THE CONTRIBUTORS

- Right Rev. Athenagoras, Bishop of Elaia, is Dean and Chairman of the Department of Systematic Theology at the Holy Cross Orthodox Theological School, Editor of *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, and Bishop of the 3rd Episcopal District of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America with headquarters in Boston, Massachusetts.
- Rev. Dean Timothy Andrews is the Librarian and Registrar of the Holy Cross Orthodox Theological School.
- George S. Bebis is doing graduate work at the Harvard Divinity School.
- James Dukas is an icon-painter and Lecturer of Byzantine Iconography at the Holy Cross Orthodox Theological School.
- Rev. Dr. Georges Florovsky is Visiting Professor of Theology at the Holy Cross Orthodox Theological School, Adjunct Professor of the History and Theology of Eastern Orthodoxy at Union Theological Seminary, and Adjunct Professor of Religion at Columbia University.
- Dr. John E. George is Assistant Professor of Greek and Sociology at the Holy Cross Orthodox Theological School.
- Stanley S. Harakas is now pursuing graduate studies at the Theological School of the University of Athens.
- George A. Panichas, book critic for the Springfield Republican, is Assistant Professor of English at the Holy Cross Orthodox Theological School and Managing Editor of The Greek Orthodox Theological Review.
- The Very Rev. Gerasimos Papadopoulos is Professor of New Testament at the Holy Cross Orthodox Theological School.
- John Papajohn is Assistant Professor of Psychology at the Holy Cross Orthodox Theological School.
- John E. Rexine is Instructor in Humanities at Brandeis University.
- Rev. John Romanides, Research Fellow of the Holy Cross Orthodox Theological School, is now at the *Institute de Theologie Orthodoxe*, Paris, France.
- Rev. Dr. Eusebius A. Stephanou is Sub-Dean of the Holy Cross Orthodox Theological School and Professor of Comparative Theology and Apologetics.
- Dimitri Zacharopoulos is Instructor in Old Testament and Hebrew Literature at the Holy Cross Orthodox Theological School.







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BOOK REVIEWS

BASIL KRIVOSHEINE, The Ascetic and Theological Teaching of Gregory Palamas. London: Reprint from the Eastern Churches Quarterly No. 4, 1956. Pp. 69.

This essay by an Orthodox Monk of Mount Athos is replete with very interesting and valuable material. Here the well-informed author presents to the modern world in an excellently written synopsis the greatness of thought of a spiritual thinker and mystic of the Orthodox Church, Gregory Palamas, whose name was inscribed in the Book of the Saints after his death in 1368, when a synodical document was issued by Philotheos, the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople.

The name of St. Gregory Palamas is well known to the Orthodox faithful not only because he is one of the Saints, whose feast is observed the second Sunday of Great Lent, but also because his teachings, contained in published and unpublished works, were confirmed by synodical decisions as interpreting the pure and unaltered doctrines of the Holy Church.

It has been rightly stated that St. Gregory Palamas is not just a great intellectual, since the depth of his tremendous mental power is revealed not in the schemes of his logical technics, but rather in his personal religious experiences. The careful reader of his works will easily discover that St. Gregory is not a mere theorist. He is rather interpreting personal mystical convictions and spiritual experiences. His theology is orthodox and sound. It is interrelated with mystical and ascetic thinking, the common characteristic of all great theologians, St. Paul, St. John the Evangelist, and many of the Holy Fathers. For them all Theology is rooted deep in sacred mystical ground. Otherwise Theology would be reduced to mere mental gymnastics and become identical with the bare philosophical speculations of those who profess intellectuality and produce theories of vanity to satisfy the curiosity of some who desire learning but yet are unable "to come to the knowledge of truth."

The conflict of the question of "the Uncreated Light" ("Autiotov $\Phi\tilde{\omega}_{5}$) lends itself as an example of difference between those who approach Theology as a development of the religious themes within

rational limits and those who in addition complete their theological thinking with personal ascetic convictions and mystical experiences.

The controversy on the "Uncreated Light" has brought into the open a discussion of these two opposing views. One is represented by St. Gregory Palamas, while the other is voiced by his opponents Barlaam and Acindynus. Palamas, having in mind what is found in the Bible, what St. Macarius of Egypt, the Cappadocian Fathers, St. John Damascene, St. Andrew of Crete, St. Symeon the New Theologian, and other Neptic Fathers have written on the "Uncreated Light," defended the ascetic conception. This light, he said, is nothing but radiance emanating from God. As such it cannot be created. The "Divine Illumination" (Θεία "Ελλαμψις), the experience of God's light that the Ascetic Fathers and Saints have known is not a material phenomenon. It is the light of the presence of God "in whose light we see light" (Psalm 35:10). This is what was experienced on the Mount at the Transfiguration of Christ, by St. Stephanos the Protomartyr, by St. Paul on the way to Damascus, and by the Ascetic Fathers and Hesychasts. St. Gregory, following the line of thought of his predecessors, became the champion of the Hesychasts. He defended their veracity and he accepted the view of the uncreated nature of this light.

His opponents, Barlaam the Calabrian and Acindynus, unable to understand the meaning of this doctrine, vehemently fought St. Gregory's teaching. Reducing Theology into a method working within the framework of logical limitations, they called "polytheists" all those who were in agreement with St. Gregory's views. The Church, however, after a thorough examination of the question, utilizing Biblical and Patristic testimony, justified the views of St. Gregory Palamas in declaring Barlaam and his followers as being in error.

Father Krivosheine offers a very comprehensive analysis of the whole structure of St. Gregory Palamas's teachings. On the question of Divine Knowability, St. Gregory follows the steps of the Fathers and especially St. Gregory of Nyssa and St. Dionysius the Areopagite. For him, too, God, though not a subject of rational perception, is not altogether inaccessible and unapproachable. The fact that there is a creature made in God's image and likeness makes possible the communicability of God. Thus man is able to form an idea of the "abyss" of God's nature and properties. St. Gregory's teachings on Man can be traced in the works of St. Gregory of Nyssa. The peculiarity, however, of Palamas's views on Man, as Father Krivosheine observes, rests on man's likeness with God. Man, made in God's image, is the greater world contained in a lesser. Man is the concentration into one whole of all that is simply the recapitulation of all things created by God. In

comparison to the Angelic world, Man is of superior nature since he possesses divine likeness to a greater measure than the Angels. The Angels are appointed to serve God while Man is ordained to rule over all the earth. Even in relation to his body Man is not inferior to Angels, according to Palamas. The human body, too, united with the soul, radiates the characteristics of divine likeness and enables Man to commune with God in a way inaccessible to Angels.

Man achieves communion with God by keeping God's commandments and by prayer. Prayer, however, is more effective than all the virtues acquired by keeping the commandments. "The force of prayer effects (this union) being the link between rational creatures and the Creator." (See also Περί προσευχης, P. G. 150, 1117b.) Influenced by St. Dionysius the Areopagite, St. Gregory speaks of a threefold operation of the mind as a process preparing its ascent to and communion with God. "The mind becomes three, while remaining one in the act of returning into itself and ascending through itself to God." The first of these operations is called συνέλεξις and the second is called τήρησις. The ascent unto God is achieved through prayer. The first stage is detachment of the mind from the exterior world; the second is concentration and self-guarding of the mind into itself; the third is the ascent unto God by prayer. After the third, the human mind, having been prepared and disciplined by the former two stages, "attains the unuttered and tastes of the world to come."

The theme of prayer is another point that has attracted considerable opposition. Barlaam, the arch-enemy of St. Gregory, attacked the Hesychasts because they were practising mental prayer — that is, the three operations of the mind resulting in the ascent to God by prayer. He called the Hesychasts "Omphalopsychoi," in view of the fact that they believed the soul to be situated in the navel. The fact is that the venerable Hesychasts and their defender, St. Greogry Palamas, wanted to utilize all their faculties in order to achieve by prayer their ascent to God. Barlaam and Allatius and their followers, influenced by the scholastic philosophy, were unable to grasp the value of the somatic discipline through which the Hesychasts assisted their mind to concentrate on itself and ascend unto God by prayer. St. Gregory, defending the practice, wrote some fine essays offering valuable information on the age-old methods utilized in the exercise of mental prayer. These methods include coordination of prayer with in-breathing (εἰσπνοή) and an outward position of the body during prayer (τὸ ἔξω σχῆμα). (See Περί τοῦ πῶς δεῖ καθέζεσθαι. Περί ἀναπνοῆς. Ρ. G. 150, 1316-1333.)

Father Krivosheine has rightly noted that St. Gregory Palamas does not give a detailed account of the methods used by those who practice mental prayer. A more complete analysis can be found in the works of St. Gregory's predecessors, such as in St. John Climacus* (6th century), Hesychius of Sinai (7th century), St. Symeon the New Theologian (11th century), and others. In the works of these Neptic Fathers, as well as in the writings of their teachers, St. Macarius of Egypt and Evagrius of Pontus, one can trace the beginnings of Hesychasm. St. Gregory defended them and analyzed their methods in utilizing the body and especially the heart for the attainment of full control of the mind in order to ascend unto God.

The author of this essay undoubtedly has done a real justice to the great saint and Orthodox Byzantine Theologian. He equates the work of St. Gregory Palamas with that of St. Athanasius the Great. "Just as St. Athanasius the Great brought into ecclesiastical usage, in spite of the protests of the pseudo-traditionalists of the time, the previously unheard term ὁμοούσιος and expressed the ancient teaching of the Church . . . so also Gregory by his bold development and theological reforming of the already existing teaching on the 'uncreated light' and Divine energies expressed and grounded the traditional teaching of the Church."

Undoubtedly, St. Gregory Palamas is a pillar of Christian Orthodoxy. He is not a compiler of what has been said but rather a creative thinker and theologian who successfully developed within the framework of the Patristic patterns the Orthodox doctrines, and defended the spiritual and ascetic traditions of Christianity. Father Krivosheine's praiseworthy contribution presents a short and concise study of the theological system of St. Gregory Palamas; thus, the author offers opportunities to Western theologians to re-examine the structure of Orthodox Theology and to grasp its depth and creative continuation on the traditional Patristic patterns. The chapter "Substance and Energy," in which the views of the saint on the Holy Trinity are discussed, is enough to convince the objective reader that Christian Orthodoxy is grounded in the truth, and that it is both theoretically and practically defended by the Saints.

† BISHOP ATHENAGORAS

^{*} St. John Climacus defines the Hesychast as one "who strives to maintain that which is incorporeal (the mind) within the body."

CHRONICLE OF THE HOLY CROSS ORTHODOX THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL

COMMENCEMENT:

More than two-thousand persons, including representatives from major universities, colleges, and theological schools from throughout New England, gathered on Sunday, June 10, 1956, to participate in the Commencement Exercises of the School. The Board of Trustees voted to award the Bachelor of Arts in Course to the following candidates who had fulfilled the prescribed requirements: Rev. Arthur E. Athans, Mr. Demetrios A. Bakalis, Mr. Ernest C. Blougouras, Mr. Alkiviadıs C. Calivas, Rev. Basil S. Chiganos, Mr. Peter C. Chrisafides, Mr. Demetrios S. Kavadas, Mr. Stylianos I. Koutroulelis, Rev. Nicholas C. Manikas, Mr. George D. Nicozisin, Mr. John O. Paul, Rev. Phillip J. Pekras, Mr. George E. Prassas; degrees for the fulfillment of requirements were also awarded to the Very Rev. Kallistos Samaras, Rev. Stephen J. Anthony, Rev. George Bartz, Rev. Constantine Bebis, Mr. George Bebis, Rev. James Christon, Rev. Basil Kehayes, Rev. George Keramas, Rev. Basil Kleoudis, Rev. Anthony Koniaris, Rev. Peter Kyriakos, Rev. Constantine Leftheris, Rev. John Limberakis, Rev. Arthur Metaxas, Rev. George Neophotistos, Rev. Nicholas Nikolopoulos, Rev. Constantine S. Palassis, Rev. Spyridon Papademetriou, Rev. George Poulos, Rev. Chrysostom Selimos, Rev. John Sfikas, Mr. Marinos Vinas, Rev. Philotheos Ahladas.

Representatives and dignitaries at the exercises included: the Ambassador of Greece to the United States, Mr. George Melas; the Greek Consul of Boston, Mr. E. Kalamidas; the Editor-Emeritus of the Greek National Herald, D. Callimachos; Dr. Forest Knapp of the National Council of Churches; Dr. Manolakis of Yale University; Dr. Davey of Yale University; Dr. Walter Muelder, Dean, Boston University School of Theology; Dr. Chris Argyris of Yale University; Dr. Krister Stendahl of Harvard Divinity School; Archbishop Samuel David of Toledo, Ohio; and Bishop Mark Lipas of the Albanian Church in the United States.

The Commencement Address in ancient Greek was delivered by Dr. Milton Anastos, Visiting Associate Professor of Church History at the Harvard Divinity School.

The address of welcome, especially underscoring the significance of the first commencement at which baccalaureate degrees were awarded, was delivered by the Dean, Bishop Athenagoras, both in English and ancient Greek, and is given below:

It is with a deep sense of humility and great pleasure that I welcome you to the Commencement Exercises of the Holy Cross Greek Orthodox Theological School. Happy and memorable is this day, for it marks an achievement of utmost importance, not only in the lives of the Orthodox adherents in North and South America, but also in the lives of dedicated young men who will begin their ministry as preachers of the Christian gospel and truth.

This is a happy day for us all because it is the beginning of a new era in the academic life of the Orthodox faith in America; this is a significant and memorable day be-

cause it marks the first occasion of the awarding of the Bachelor of Arts degree in theology to successful candidates.

Our school is characterized by a definitive uniqueness, since it is the only Greek Orthodox Theological School in the Western Hemisphere, and accredited as such by other comparable educational institutions and boards of education. Unique in its scholastic and theological endeavors, dedicated to its sacred duties and resolution, and devoted to its future tasks and responsibilities, our Theological School today, nineteen years after its establishment, continues its eventful course—unafraid of challenge or struggle

Indeed, this is a proud moment not only for myself and the faculty, but also for the students and the supporters and friends of the school We are now an accredited school, and today's exercises are a testament to the fulfillment of dreams and visions

This is not, by any means, a wealthy school, and it would be presumptuous for us to claim so, but it is wealthy in the sacrifices, the moral and intellectual stamina, of its many friends, without whose support lofty goals would still be eluding us.

We have often heard the words, "the hard fight." Certainly, "the hard fight" in the history and experiences of this school has been a challenge of inestimable degree and strength. But perseverance and conviction have been those steady companions that have inspired us to move ahead without fear or trepidation. "The hard fight," to be sure, has been "the fruitful fight" of progress

It is with renewed courage and endurance that we now move forward — but always with faith, for "Faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen" (Hebrews XI, 1).

THE DEAN'S CHARGE TO THE GRADUATING CLASS

Γνώσεοθε τὴν 'Αλήθειαν καὶ ἡ 'Αλήθεια ἐλευθερώση ἡμᾶς . . .

Τὸν δόλιχον τῆς μαθητείας διαδοαμόντες ἐπὶ τὸν οὐδὸν τῆς δι' ῆν ἐκλήθητε διακονίας κεκοπακότες ἔστητε καὶ τὰς χεῖρας τείνετε τὰ δράγματα τῶν κόπων ὑμῶν αἰτοῖντες. Σὺν ὑμῖν κεκοπιάκασιν οἱ τε γεννήτορες ὑμῶν κατὰ σάρχα, οἱ τε γεννήτορες ὑμῶν κατὰ πνεῦμα. 'Αμφότεροι γὰρ συνοδοι ὑμῶν γεγονότες ἄσμενοι ὑμᾶς ἀποστελλομένους καθορῶσιν καὶ ἀγαλλόμενοι πόθω ἐν εὐχαριστία πολλῆ τῷ ἐν Τριάδι Θεῷ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἰκετεύουσιν ὡς τὴν διακονίαν ὑμῶν πληροφορήσαντες τὴν ἐνταῦθα μαθητείαν δικαιώσητε καὶ καρπὸν πολὸν φέρητε ἐν ἔργοις τε καὶ λόγοις.

Καινῆς Διαθήκης πάντες μαθηταί, τινὲς δὲ καὶ Ἱερωσύνης Χριστοῦ κοινωνήσαντες ῆδη καὶ μυστηρίων άψάμενοι ἐπὶ τὸ Κήρυγμα ἀποστέλλεσθε καθιστάμενοι Κυρίου διάκονοι καὶ ἀνθρώπων διδάσκαλοι.

Καρδίαν καινὴν ξαυτῆς ποιήσαντες τῆς προγονικῆς σοφίας τῷ φωτὶ καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα Κυρίου εἰληφότες τῆς τε χάριτος καὶ τῆς γνώσεως τῆς κατὰ Χριστὸν ἐκλήθητε μηνυταί. Μιᾶς μητρὸς γεγονότες υἱοί, ταύτης λέγω τῆς Τιμίου Σταυροῦ Θεολογικῆς Σχολῆς τῆς 'Ελληνικῆς 'Αρχιεπισκοπῆς 'Αμερικῆς καὶ τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτῆς ἀράμενοι φορεῖς Αὐτοῦ ἀναδείχθητε ἔντιμοι καὶ πήξαντες Αὐτὸν ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν τὸν λόγον Αὐτοῦ κοινοποιήσατε ἔργφ καὶ λόγφ καταδεικνύντες Αὐτὸν Θεοῦ δύναμιν καὶ Θεοῦ Σοφίαν. Συλλέξαντες ἄνθη νοητὰ ἐν τῷ Θεοκοσμήτφ τούτφ λειμῶνι τοῦ πνεύματος τανῦν ἐντολὴν λάβετε ῆν δι' ἐμοῦ ὁ ἀπὸν τῷ σώματι παρὰν δὲ τῷ πνεύματι ἀρχηγεύων τῆς ἐνταῦθα 'Ορθοδόξου 'Ελληνικῆς 'Εκκλησίας 'Αμερικῆς Σεβασμιώτατος 'Αρχιεπίσκοπος Μιχαὴλ δίδωσιν ἵνα ἐν ὑπομονῆ πολλῆ, ἐν ταπεινότητι φρονήματος καὶ ἀφελότητι καρδίας, πλήρει τε ὑποταγῆ τοῖς τῆς 'Εκκλησίας κελεύμασι στεφάνους πλέξητε διακονίας ἀκαταισχύντου.

Περί τὴν πρόαυλιν οὖν τῆς διακονίας ταύτης γεγονότες ἐμβλέψετε τῷ Ἐσταυρωμένω ἀλλ' 'Αναστάντι καὶ δεδοξασμένω Κυρίω 'Ος ἐν τῷ ἔργω Αὐτοῦ τῷ Σωτηριώδει συνεργούς καὶ ὑμᾶς καλεῖ. 'Εν τοὐτω γὰρ Αὐτός μεν ἀόρατος 'Επίσκοπος, ἡμεῖς δ' ὁρατοὶ λειτουργοὶ Αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν Αὐτῷ καθιστάμενοι ἐν ἀδιασπάστω διατελοῦντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐνότητι, ἐκ τῶν ἐπ' ἐσχάτων διαδοχικῶς μέχρι τῶν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς μετὰ τῶν 'Αποστόλων ὡς δι' ἀλύσεως πνευματικῆς κατὰ διαδοχὴν χάριτος μετ' Αὐτοῦ συνεχόμενοι καὶ κρατούμενοι, Αὐτοῦ περιφέροντες ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς καθορώμενον καὶ μαρτυρούμενον, τὰς Αὐτοῦ ἔπαγγελίας τοῖς μακρὰν καὶ τοῖς ἐγγὺς καταγγέλλομεν. Τίνες δ' αὖται πάντες ὑμεῖς οἴδατε.

Έν χρόνφ γὰς οὐ σμικςῷ παιδευθέντες παςὰ τοὺς πόδας σεμνῶν τε καὶ ἀμφιλαφεῖ παιδείς κεκοσμημένων διδασκάλων μαθημάτων πεςί τε τὴν ἔξω καὶ τὴν ἔσω σοφίαν ἐνετευφήσατε. 'Αλλὰ γνῶτε ὡς ἥ τε ἀκρόασις καὶ γνῶσις οὐ καθίστησιν ὑμᾶς ἱεςοὺς καὶ τοῦ Λόγου μύστας ἀληθεῖς. Καὶ γὰς ἡ γνῶσις τοῦ Χριστιανισμοῦ, Χριστιανισμὸς οἴκ ἐστι, ὡς 'Αθανάσιος ὁ Μέγας ἐν διδασκάλοις θυμοσόφως ἀπεφήνατο. 'Ο Κύριος γὰς ἐστὶν ὁ τάξας σὺν τῷ γνῶναι τὸ βιοῦν κλείδα δοκιμασίας ἀκραιφνῆ τῆς κατὰ πρόθεσιν Αὐτῷ ἀκολουθοῦσιν. Τούτου γὰς ἔνεκα τὴν ἐλευθερίαν 'Εκείνος προσήψατο τῆ ἀληθεία, ὡς οὐκ ἐλεύθερος ὁ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐκτὸς καὶ οἰκ ἀληθής ὁ γνοῦς ἀλλ' ἀνελευθέρως καταδιῶν. 'Ανελεύθερος ς ὁ τδς ἀληθείας ἐκτὸς καὶ οἰκ ἀληθής ὁ γνοῦς ἀλλ' ἀνελευθέρως καταδιῶν. 'Ανελεύθερος τὰς ὁ δεδουλωμένος πάθεσι καὶ κλίσεσι φερόμενος ταπειναῖς διχασμὸν ἐν ὑμῖν ἱδρυούσαις καὶ ἑαυτοὺς καθ' ὑμῶν τεθειμέναις. 'Εν τούτω γὰς τῆς θείας ἐν ἡμῖν εἰκόνος τὴν παραχάραξιν μεμαςτυσημένην εὐρόντες δουλείαν ματαιότητος ταύτην κατανοοῦμεν. Αὕτη γὰς δουλεία ἡ πρώτη. Πᾶσα δ' ἄλλη ἔπεται. 'Η μὲν τὸν ἄνθρωπον τῆ ματαιότητι ὑποτασουσα, ἡ δὲ τὰ περὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀλλοιοῦσα. Στῆτε οὐν ὑμεῖς ἀδούλωτοι, οὐ φρονήματι ματαίφ πεφυσημένοι, ἀλλὰ τῆ γνώσει τῆς ἀληθείας συνημμένη τῆ κατά Θεὸν πράξει χρώμενοι, Χριστὸν καταγγέλλοντες καὶ κατ' Αὐτὸν βιοῦντες κατά τε τὸν ἔσω καὶ τὸν ἔξω ἄνθρωπον, ξν ὅντες, ἀδίχαστοι καὶ ὁλόκληροι ἐν παντὶ διαμένοντες. 'Εν τούτω γὰς τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ Χριστοῦ κρατηθήσεται ἐν ὑμῖν καὶ τὸ σωτήριον φάρμακον εὐρήσετε ὅπες ὁ Παράκλητος τοῖς κατὰ πρόθεσιν ἐν Χριστῷ οὖσι καὶ πόθω δεχομένοις καὶ πράττουσι τὰς Θείας ἐπαγγελίας, χαρίζετσα.

*Ήτε οὖν τῷ φωτὶ τῆς ἀληθείας ὁδηγούμενοι σὺν τῆ θεωρία τὴν πρᾶξιν ἐναρμονίζοντες τὸ θεῖον ἐν ἑαυτοῖς φέροντες καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸ φερόμενοι σωτηρίαν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑμῶν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις κατεργαζόμενοι. Καὶ γὰρ ἀκηκόατε καὶ οἴδατε ὅτι χρῆ τοὺς ἐν ἀληθεία τῷ Θεῷ προσελυληθότας ἐν ὅλη καρδία πιστεῦσαι καὶ τὰς ἐπαγγελίας Αὐτοῦ πράξει πάση δυνάμει ἀποδεικνῦναι βεδαίας. Οὕτω ποιοῦντες καὶ ἡμέραν ἐξ ἡμέρας τὸν νοῦν ἀνακαινούμενοι προκοπῆς χάριν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς αἰσθέσθε τὸν ᾿Αποστολικὸν χαρακτῆρα ἐν ἑαυτοῖς κτησάμενοι.

«Μὴ οὖν συσχηματίζεσθε τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ, ὡς φησὶν ὁ ᾿Απόστολος, ἀλλὰ μεταμοφοῦσθε τῆ ἀνακαινώσει τοῦ νοὸς ὑμῶν εἰς τὸ δοκιμάζειν ὑμᾶς τί τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸ ἀγαθόν.» «Τοῦτο δ' οὐκ ἄλλο», ὡς φησὶν Γρηγόριος ὁ τῆς Νύσσης φωστής, «ἢ τὸ ὑπὸ τῆς εὐσεδείας μορφωθῆναι ψυχὴν ἢν εἰς ἄκρον ἀνθίζει κάλλος ἡ τοῦ Πνεύματος χάρις τοῖς τοῦ μορφουμένου συγγενομένη πόνοις.» Τοῖς πόνοις οὖν τούτοις ὑπομονῆς ἀγῶνα προτάξετε. «Δι' ὑπομονῆς γὰρ τρέχομεν τὸν προκείμενον ὑμῖν ἀγῶνα . . . Οὖτως τρέχητε ἴνα καταλάδητε ὡς Θεοῦ διάκονοι . . . ἐπιχωρηγορύντες ἐν τῆ πίστει ἡμῶν τὴν ἀρετήν, ἐν δὲ τῆ ἀρετῆ τὴν γνῶσιν, ἐν δὲ τῆ ἐνκρατεία τὴν ὑπομονήν, ἐν δὲ τῆ ὑπομονῆ τὴν εὐσέδειαν, ἐν δὲ τῆ εὐσεδεία τὴν φιλαδελφία τὴν ἀγάπην.» Ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα ὑπάρχοντα καὶ πλεονάζοντα ἀξίους καθίστησιν ὑμᾶς τῆς κλήσεως ὑμῶν τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, Οὖ ἡ Χάρις καὶ τὸ ἄπειρον ἔλεος εἴη μεθ' ὑμῶν.

ACCREDITATION:

On June 26, 1956, upon petition of the Board of Trustees, and after careful examination of faculty, and plant and other related matters by the Board of Collegiate Authority of the State of Massachusetts, the School was given the right to confer the Bachelor of Divinity and Master of Sacred Theology degrees to qualified candidates.

FACULTY CHANGES AND APPOINTMENTS:

With the opening of the academic year of 1956-1957, the Board of Trustees announced the appointment of The Very Rev. John Papadopoulos as Director of Studies and Professor of Christian Ethics and Dogmatics. Mr. George Liacopoulos, Professor of Greek and History, was appointed Chairman of the College Division, and will serve for a period of two years. An additional administrative appointment was that of Mr. Charles Petras, who was named Financial Secretary of the School to serve under Mr. Nicholas Poulos, Bursar and Executive Secretary.

Additions to the faculty were The Very Rev. Silas Koskinas, Instructor in New Testament and Religious Education; Mr. George Bebis as Instructor in Religion; Dr. Evangelos Sdrakas as Visiting Professor of Philosophy; and Marinos Vinas as Instructor in Philosophy.

Special lecturers for the academic year include The Very Rev. Athanasios Rizos, Lecturer in New Testament and Christian Ethics; Mr. Philip D. Emmanuel, Lecturer in Education; The Rt. Rev. Bishop Mark Lipas, Lecturer in Byzantine Music; Mr. Constantine Limberakis, Lecturer in European Music; and Mr. Michael Pagos, Lecturer in Economics.

During the June meeting of the Board of Trustees it was also announced that tenure had been voted to The Very Rev. George Tsoumas, Professor of Church History; and to Mr. George Liacopoulos, Chairman of the College Division, and Professor of Greek and History.

MATRICULATION AND RASSOPHORIA:

The Service of Investiture and Matriculation was held on October 21, 1956, at the Holy Cross Orthodox Theological School Chapel, with an attendance of over five-hundred friends, visitors, and dignitaries. The academic procession was keynoted by the new faculty robe colors of purple and yellow. The Very Rev. John Papadopoulos, Director of Studies, delivered the Matriculation Day Address, "Classical Greek in the Formation of Christian Thought," given in full below:

Η ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΉ ΓΛΩΤΤΆ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΚΉ ΚΑΙ ΤΗ ΘΕΟΛΟΓΙΚΉ ΣΚΕΨΕΙ

Μετά πλείστης περισκέψεως τὴν τοῦ Θεοφιλεστάτου άγίου Σχολάρχου φιλόφρονα κλῆσιν ἀπεδεξάμην, ὅπως τὸν προσήκοντα λόγον ὑμῖν ἀπευθύνω κατὰ τὴν ἐπίσημον ταύτην τῆς ἱερᾶς ἡμῶν Θεολογικῆς Σχολῆς ἐορτήν, καὶ μάλιστα λίαν πιθανῶς οὐκ ἄν ἐτόλμων τὴν τιμὴν ταύτην ἀποδέξασθαι, εἰ τῆ ὑμετέρα εὐμενεῖ κρίσει οὐ πέποιθα, ἤτις, ἔχω δι' ἐλπίδος, τοῦ ἐμοῦ λόγου τὸ ἀσθενὲς παραδλέπουσα, τὴν τῆς προαιρέσεως ἀγαθότητα ἐπιεικῶς ἀποδέξεται.

Πο ρειλόμην δ' εἰπεῖν ὑμῖν, καὶ ἰδία τοῖς προσφιλεστάτοις ἡμῖν θεοσεδέσι φοιτηταῖς, ὀλίγα τινὰ περὶ τοῦ νοητοῦ ἐκείνου χρυσοῦ τε καὶ ἀκαταλύτου δεσμοῦ, τοῦ ἀοράτως μέν, οὐχ ἡττον ὅμως ἰσχυρότατα συνέχοντος τὸ ὅπη γῆς διαδιοῦν ἡμέτερον γένος τετταράκοντα τανῦν καὶ ἔτι πλείους ἱστοριῶς ἡκριδωμένους αἰῶνας, περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων γλώττης λέγω, ἴνα κἀγὼ συμιδάλω πως ἐπὶ τῷ συνειδέναι τὴν σπουδαιότητα, ἡν αὕτη δι' ἡμᾶς ὅλους, τοὺς ἐνταῦθα κἀκεῖσε διαδιοῦντας ὁμαίμονας ἀδελφούς, ὡς τῆς Βίδλου καὶ τῆς 'Ορθοδόξου Θεολογίας γλῶττα καὶ ὡς ἐθνικὴ τοιαύτη κέκτηται.

Πάντες οὖν οἱ τῆς ἐπιστήμης μύσται καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐρασταὶ ὁμολογοῦσι τὸν Ελληνα πρῶτον νοῆσαι τὸν ἀληθῆ τοῦ λόγου σκοπόν, δν μόνω τῷ ἀνθρώπω ἐδωρήσατο ὁ Θεός, καὶ τοῦτον οὐκ ὄντα τοῦ τἀνθρώπινα μόνον γνῶναι καὶ περὶ τούτων ἀλλήλοις διαλέγεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ζητῆσαι καὶ ἀκριδῶσαι τὴν ὑψίστην ἀλήθειαν, τοὐτέστιν αὐτὸν τὸν Θεόν.

"Ετι δ' ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τοῦ ἐθνικοῦ αὐτοῦ βίου ὁςῷμεν τοῦτον ἐκεῖσε κατατείνειν καὶ ἐν τῆ ζητήσει ταύτη τὸ πρῶτον μὲν φύσιν νεκρὰν καὶ ζῶσαν διέκρινε, ὅετο δ' ἑαυτὸν ὑπὸ πλήθους φυσικῶν θεοτήτων περιστοιχιζόμενον, πρὸς ὡς δέος ἡσθάνετο, διὸ καὶ βωμοὺς καὶ ναοὺς ἱδρύσατο, ἔνθα θυσίαις καὶ λιδάσι εὐμενίζει ταύτας.

Είτα δὲ κατειδως ἐργασίης τ' ἀναγκαῖον, καὶ ταύτην ἐθεοποίησεν, ὡς φέρ' εἰπεῖν τὴν τῆς γῆς καλλιέργειαν καὶ τὴν ποιμενικὴν καὶ τὰν ἐμπορίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν γραμμάτων καὶ τεχνῶν θεραπείαν ἐν τοῖς τῶν Νυμφῶν καὶ τῶν Μουσῶν ὀνόμασι καὶ ἐν τῷ τῆς Δήμητρος καὶ τοῦ Πανὸς καὶ τοῦ 'Ερμοῦ καὶ τοῦ 'Απόλλωνος. Πρὸς τούτοις δὲ τὸ θεῖον ἐν τῷ κάλλει ἀπεκάλυψε, πειραθείς ἐκφράσαι τὸ ἀόρατον τέλειον μορφαῖς τελείαις, ἐν ἀντιθέσει λαοῖς ἑτέροις, οἶτινες τὸ θεῖον ἐθεράπευον ἐν τῷ ὑπερανθρώπω δυνάμει καὶ φρικαλεότητι.

'Ανδοούμενον δὲ τὸ γένος ἡμῶν καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸ θεῖον πίστιν αὐτοῦ προῆγε, μεταθέμενον ταὐτην ἐκ τῆς περιβαλλούσης φύσεως εἰς τὸν Δημιουργὸν αὐτῆς τε καὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, οὖτινος τὰς πρὸς ἀλλήλους σχέσεις καθώρισε, καθαγιάσαν τὴν οἰκογένειαν καὶ θέσαν προστάτιν αὐτῆς τὴν 'Εστίαν, πρὸ τῆς όποίας ἄσβεστον τὸ πῦς ἔκαιε, σύμθολον ἱερὸν τοῦ ἀκαταλύτου τοῦ οἰκογενειακοῦ θεσμοῦ. Καὶ τὸν δημιουργὸν τῆς οἰκογενείας, τὸν γάμον, μυστήριον ἡγείτο εἶναι καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀθανασίαν διέκρινε, δι' δ καὶ συνεβούλευε «δεῖ φεύγειν τὸ κακόν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ προσωρινόν, εὑρί-

σχειν δὲ τ' ἀγαθόν, αἰώνιον γάρ.» 'Ο ξένος δέ, καὶ ὁ ἐχθοὸς ἔτι, ἱεοὸς ἀπέδαινεν, εἰ πρὸ τῶν ἐφεστίων θεῶν κλάδον ἔχων ἐλαίας ἔφευγε. Καὶ πολλὰ τὰ καλὰ διά τε τὴν οἰκογενειακὴν καὶ τὴν κοινωνικὴν ἀρμονικὴν συμδίωσιν ἐθεσμοθέτησεν ὁ Ἔλλην ἀναδειχθεὶς οἴκου θεμελιωτὴς καὶ πολιτείας συναρμοστής.

"Ότε δὲ ἐν τοῖς τῆς ἀχμῆς χρόνοις πάντες οἱ τοῦ ἐπιστητοῦ κλάδοι ἀνειλίχθησαν καὶ ἀνεφάνησαν τ' ἄριστ' ἐκείνα τῶν τε γραμμάτων καὶ τῆς τέχνης καὶ τοῦ πολιτισμοῦ ἔργα, ἡ δὲ πόλις τῶν 'Αθηνῶν κατέστη ἡ σελασφόρος ἑστία πάσης σοφίας καὶ τὸ πρυτανεῖον καὶ κοινὸν ἐκπαιδευτήριον καὶ μουσεῖον τῆς 'Ελλάδος, ἡ ἀττικὴ διάλεκτος προσλαβοῦσα στοιχεῖα τινὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐλληνίδων διαλέκτων ἀπέδη κοινὴ τῶν Πανελλήνων γλῶττα, δι' ἤς διετυπώθησαν αἱ ἀνώτεραι ἐπιστημονικαὶ καὶ φιλοσφικαὶ ἀλήθειαι, αἴτινες μεταδοθεῖσαι ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Μεγάλου 'Αλεξάνδρου χρόνοις πάσαις ταῖς κατ' ἀνατολὰς καὶ νότον χώραις ἐγένοντο μετὰ τῆς 'Ελληνίδος γλώττης κοινὸν κτῆμα τοῦ τότε κόσμου.

Αἱ ἐπιστημονικαὶ δὲ καὶ ἡθικαὶ ἐκεῖναι διδαχαὶ τῶν μεγάλων καὶ ἀοιδίμων προγόνων ἡμῶν, εἰ καὶ ψήγματά εἰσι τῆς θείας σοφίας, ὅμως ἀποτελοῦσιν ἱκανὴν προπαιδείαν διά τε τὴν κατανόησιν τοῦ ἑνὸς καὶ μόνου ἀληθοῦς Θεοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀποδοχὴν τῶν ὑψίστων καὶ σωτηρίων διδαχῶν τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

' Ω_{S} φές' εἰπεῖν ἐπενόησαν τῆ λογικῆ ἀναζητήσει καὶ ἐπιστημονικῆ ἐρείνη, ὅτι τὸν ὅλον οὐρανὸν διεκόσμησε μία ἡ διὰ πάντων διήκουσα δύναμις, «τὰς ἐναντιωτάτας ἐν αὐτῷ φύσεις ἀλλήλαις ἀναγκάσασα ὁμολογῆσαι καὶ ἐκ τούτων μηχανησαμένη τῷ παντὶ σωτηρίαν.»

Περί Θεοῦ δ' ἔλεγον «δυνάμει μὲν ὅντος ἰσχυροτάτου, ζωῇ δ' ἀθανάτου, ἀρετῷ δὲ κρατίστου διότι πάση τῷ θνητῷ φύσει γενόμενος ἀθεώρητος ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων θεωρείται.» Καὶ κατὰ πάντα τὸ θεῖον ἄψογον ἐπίστευον είναι καὶ κατὰ δίκην τὰ θνητὰ ἄγειν, μηδὲν ἄν τοῦ Θεοῦ λειτούργημα τῆς ἀφθάρτου καὶ μακαρίας φύσεως ἀνάξιον ὑπομένοντος.

Οἷεται δέ τις ἀχούειν τῶν ᾿Αποστόλων καὶ τῶν Μεγάλων Ἱεραχῶν καὶ τῆς Οἰκουμένης Διδασκάλων, ὡς φέρ εἰπεῖν Ἰωάννου, τοῦ κατ' ἐξοχὴν θεολογήσαντος Εὐαγγελιστοῦ, τοῦ εἰπόντος «Φῶς ὁ Θεός ἐστι» καὶ «ἀγάπη ἐστὶν ὁ Θεός», καὶ Μάρκου τοῦ εὐαγγελιζομένου τὸν τοῦ Κυρίου λόγον «οὐδεὶς ἀγαθὸς εὶ μὴ εἰς ὁ Θεός», καὶ τοῦ τῶν Ἐθνῶν ᾿Αποστόλου καὶ φιλοσόφου Παύλου τοῦ Ταρσέως, τοῦ γράψαντος πρὸς Ρωμαίους: «Τὰ γὰρ ἀόρατα αὐτοῦ, ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου τοῖς ποιήμασι νοούμενα καθορᾶται, ῆ τε ἀίδιος αὐτοῦ δύναμις καὶ θειότης.» Καὶ περὶ κρίσεως εἰπόντος «ἔστηκεν, ὁ Θεός, ἡμέραν, ἐν ἡ μέλλει κρίνειν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐν δικαιοσύνη». Τὴν δικαιοσύνην ὁ ταὐτην ἐπεξηγῶν ὁ Πέτρος δηλοποιεῖ, ὅτι «ἀπροσωπολήπτως κρίνει ὁ Θεὸς κατὰ τὸ ἔργον ἐκάστου.» (Α΄. Ἰωάνν. 1:5. Ρωμ. 1:19. Πράξ. 17:31. Α΄. Πέτρ. 1:17.)

Παραπλήσια τὰ τῶν πρὸ Χριστοῦ φιλοσόφων καὶ τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Μεγάλου 'Αθανασίου πρὸς τοὺς "Ελληνας γραφεῖσίν ἐστιν, οίον, «Οὐκοῦν μιᾶς οὕσης τῆς κτίσεως καὶ ἐνὸς ὄντος τοῦ κόσμου καὶ μιᾶς τῆς τούτου τάξεως, ἔνα δεῖ νοεῖν καὶ τὸν ταύτης Βαπλέα καὶ Δημιουργὸν Κύριον» (Πρὸς "Ελληνας, 39). Καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ ὁ αὐτὸς θεόκνευστος Πατὴρ γράφων ἀποφαίνεται, «Ἡμεῖς δ' ἐκ μὲν τῶν ἐνεργειῶν γνωρίζομεν τὸν Θεὸν ἡμῶν, τῆ δὲ οὐσία αὐτῆ προσεγγίζειν οὐχ ὑπισχνούμεθα· αὶ μὲν γὰρ ἐνέργειαι αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἡμᾶς καταδαίνουσιν, ἡ δὲ οὐσία αὐτοῦ μένει ἀπρόσιτος.» ('Επιστ. 234, 2.)

Καὶ ὁ μεγαλόνους Ἰωάννης ὁ Δαμασκηνὸς ὁμοίως ἀποφαίνεται, «Ἄπειρον τὸ θεῖον καὶ ἀκατάληπτον, ἐπεὶ ἀγαθὸς ὁ Θεὸς καὶ ὑπεράγαθος.» (Ἔκθεσ. Πίστεως.)

Ταῦτα διὰ πίστεως ἔχοντες οἱ οὐρανοβάμονες ἐκεῖνοι οἱ πρὸ καὶ οἱ μετὰ Χριστὸν ἡμέτεροι πρόγονοι, πρὸς τούτοις καὶ τὸ σωφρονεῖν καὶ σέβειν τὰ τοῦ θείου κάλλιστον είναι καὶ σοφώτατον θνητοῖσι χρῆμα τοῖς χρωμένοις ἐδίδασκον. Συνεβούλευον δὲ κμὴ χρώμασι τὸ σῶμα λαμπρύνειν, ἀλλ' ἔργοις καθαροῖς καὶ τρόποις τὴν καρδίαν.»

Καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν οὐχ διμοίαν είναι τῆ τέχνη ὁ πολὺς 'Αριστοτέλης ἔλεγε: «Τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ τέχνης γινόμενα τὸ εὖ ἔχει ἐν αὐτοῖς, ἀρκεῖ οὖν ταῦτά πως ἔχοντα γενέσθαι. Τὰ δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν γινόμενα οὐκ ἐὰν αὐτά πως ἔχη, δικαίως ἡ σωφρόνως πράττεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐὰν ὁ πράττων πῶς ἔχων πράττη. Τοῦτα δὲ πρὸς μὲν τὸ τὰς ἄλλας τέχνας ἔχειν οὐ συναριθμεῖται, πλὴν αὐτὸ τὸ εἰδέναι. Πρὸς δὲ τὰς ἀρετὰς τὸ μὲν εἰδένα μικρὸν ἢ οὐδὲν ἰσχύει, τὰ δ' ἄλλα οὐ μικρόν, ἀλλὰ τὸ πᾶν δύναται, ἄπερ ἐκ τοῦ πολλάκις πράττειν τὰ δίκαια καὶ σώφρονα περιγίγνεται.» Καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὁ βαθυνούστατος οὖτος ἐρευνητὴς τῆς ἀληθείας ἔλεγε, «Τοῦτο πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα ζῶα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἴδιον, τὸ μόνον ἀγαθοῦ καὶ κακοῦ καὶ δικαίου καὶ ἀδίκου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων αἴσθησιν ἔχειν. 'Η δὲ τούτων κοινωνία ποιεῖ οἰκίαν καὶ πόλιν.»

Ταῦτα δὲ καὶ πολὺ πλείω καὶ κρείττω ὁ μέγας τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Πατὴρ καὶ τῆς Οἰκουμένης Διδάσκαλος Βασίλειος ὁ Καισαρεὺς γιγνώσκων, ἄριστα διακελεύεται τοῖς νέοις, ἐν τῆ πρὸς τούτους ἐπιστολῆ αὐτοῦ, «"Οπως ἄν ἐξ Ἑλληνικῶν ἀφελοῖντο λό-

γων», Ίνα καταδείξη αὐτοῖς τοῦτο μὲν τὴν σπουδαιότητα τῆς προγονικῆς σοφίας, ἥτις προπαιδεία τίς ἐστιν εἰς κατανόησιν τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ τῷ Κυρίῷ ἐνσαρκωθείσης Αὐταληθείας, τοῦτο δὲ τὴν ἀναγκαιότητα τῆς ἐς ἀεὶ διὰ τῆς ἐλληνίδος γλώττης πνευματικῆς συνοχῆς τοῦ ἡμετέρου Γένους. Διὸ τὸ πρῶτον μὲν παρακελεύεται τοῖς νέοις ὅτι δεῖ πονεῖν καὶ τὰ πάντα ποιεῖν καὶ ἐκ πάντων ἀρύεσθαι, ἀπό τε τῶν ποιητῶν καὶ τῶν λογοποιῶν καὶ τῶν ρητόρων καὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων ὅ,τι ἄν μέλλη τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπιμέλειαν προάγειν· μιμεῖσθαι δὲ τὸν τῶν μελιττῶν τρόπον, οἰον, «ὡς ἐκεῖναι οὐτε ἄπασι τοῖς ἄνθεσι παραπλησίως ἐπέρχονται, οὖτε οἰς ἄν ἐπιπτῶσιν ὅλα φέρειν ἐπιχειροῦσιν, ἀλλ' ὅσον οἰκεῖον αὐτοῖς καὶ συγγενὲς τῆ ἀληθεία παρ' αὐτῶν κοιμισάμενοι, ὑπερδήσονται τὸ λειπόμενον.» Εἰτα δὲ ὁ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας βαθυνούστατος Πατήρ παραδείγματα τοῦ ἐλληνικοῦ βίου μιμήσεως ἄξια παρατίθησι τοῖς νέοις, ὡς τὸ τοῦ πολυτρόπου 'Οδυσσέως, τὸ τοῦ Σόλωνος περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ τὸ τῷ Προδίκφ τῷ Κείφ ἀποδιδήμενον περὶ τοῦ τοῦ Τοῦ Υόοις ἀρετῆς καὶ Κακίας, καθ' δ είλετο τὴν 'Αρετὴν καὶ ἀνὴρ ἔνδοξος ἐγένετο.

Τούτοις πασιν ἐπιλέγει ὁ σοφὸς τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Διδάσκαλος, «Τοὺς μὲν οὖν τῶν λόγων οἱ τὰς τῶν καλῶν ἔχουσιν ὑποθήκας, οὕτως ἀποδεχώμεθα. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ πράξεις σπουδαίαι τῶν παλαιῶν ἀνδρῶν ἢ μνήμης ἀκολουθία πρὸς ἡμᾶς διασώζονται, ἢ ποιητῶν ἢ συγγραφέων φυλαττόμενοι λόγοις, μηδὲ τῆς ἐντεῦθεν ὡφελείας ἀπολειπώμεθα.»

Τοῖς ἐλαχίστοις τούτοις ἐπειράθην καταδεῖξαι ὑμῖν, ἀγαπητοί, τὸ μὲν τὸ τῆς προγονικῆς σοφίας τῆ χριστιανικῆ θεολογία συναφές, ἄμφω δὲ χρησαμένων τῆ ἑλληνίδι γλώττη, μόνη ἱκανῆ δηλῶσαι καὶ φράσαι τό τε βάθος καὶ τὸ πλάτος τῆς τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀληθοῦς ἐννοίας, τὸ δὲ τὴν ἐν τῷ προσώπῳ τοῦ Κυρίου ἀποκαλυφθεῖσαν Αὐταλήθειαν, ὡς ταύτην ἐν βίδλοις γραφεῖσαν τῆ τῶν 'Ελλήνων γλώττη διετύπωσαν καὶ ἐδίδαξαν οἱ τ' Εὐαγγελισταὶ καὶ οἱ 'Απόστολοι, καὶ ὡς διὰ ταύτης οἱ Θεόπνευστοι Πατέρες τὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας θρησκείας δόγματα ὀρθοδόξως ἐν Συνόδοις Οἰκουμενικαῖς διετύπωσαν.

Τὴν ἱερὰν ταύτην παράδοσιν παρακαταθήκην τιμίαν ἡ ἁγία ἡμῶν Ἐκκλησία ἔχουσα καὶ φυλάττει καὶ μεταδίδωσι καὶ τῆ εὖ ἠγμένη Χώρα ταύτη διὰ τῆς Ἱερᾶς Θεολογικῆς Σχολῆς ταύτης τοῦ Τιμίου Σταυροῦ, ἦς τοῦτ' ἀκριδῶς καὶ κύριος σκοπὸς ὑπάρξεώς ἐστιν.

Τοῦτο προσφυῶς λίαν καὶ εἰκαίρως ὑπομιμνήσκεται ἡμῖν ὁ πεπνυμένος Προκαθήμενος τῆς κατ' ᾿Ανατολὰς ᾿Αγιωτάτης ἡμῶν Ἐκκλησίας, ἡ Αὐτοῦ Παναγιότης ὁ Οἰκουμενικὸς Πατοιάρχης ᾿Αθηναγόρας ὁ Α΄,, ἐν σεπτῷ Γράμματι, ὁ ηὐδόκησεν ἐπ' ἐσχάτων ἐπιστείλαι τῆ ἐμῆ ταπεινότητι καὶ ἐν ῷ πατρικῶς ἐντέλλεται ἡμῖν πᾶσι τὴν διατήρησιν τῆς ᾿Ορθοδόξου πίστεως καὶ τὴν διδασκαλίαν τῆς τοῦ ἱεροῦ Εὐαγγελίου γλώττης, ὡς καὶ τῶν τοῦ τε Ἑλληνικοῦ καὶ Χριστιανικοῦ πολιτισμοῦ ἀρχῶν, ὅστε οἱ τῆς Σχολῆς ταύτης ἀποφοιτῶντες ἐν παντὶ τῷ παραδείγματι τῶν τε προγενεστέρων, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν νεωτέρων τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς αὐτῆς ἰδρύμασι λειτουργῶν στοιχοῦντες, τηρήσωσιν ἀλώθητον τὴν τῆς πίστεως καὶ τῶν εὐσεδῶν ἡμῶν παραδόσεων παρακαταθήκην, τῷ δ᾽ ἡμετέρω ἐπόμενοι παραδείγματι μεταδώσωσιν αὐτὴν καὶ αὐτοὶ ταῖς ἐπερχομέναις γενεαῖς.

Τὸν ὑηπλὸν τοῦτον τῆς ἡμετέρας μεγαλωνύμου Σχολῆς προωρισμένον γνώμονα ἔχων ὑπ' ὄψιν ὁ Σεπτὸς ἡμῶν Ποιμενάρχης καὶ ὀτρηρὸς ᾿Αρχιεπίσκοπος τῆς ἐν Βορείω καὶ Νοτίω ᾿Αμερικῆ, ἀλλὰ καὶ Καναδᾶ ἐκτεινομένης ᾿Ορθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας κ. κ. Μιχαήλ, ἐπαγρυπνεῖ ἐπὶ τὰ προβλήματα ἡμῶν καὶ διαβιοῖ τοὺς ἐξελιγμοὺς τῆς ἡμετέρας Σχολῆς, ὅστ' οὐχ ὑπερβαλλόντως λέγει τις λέγων Τοῦτον πνοήν τε καὶ ζωγν καὶ τὰ πάντα αὐτῆ διδόναι. Τούτων δὲ τὸ μέγιστον ἡ τῷ Θεοφιλεστάτω Ἐπισκόπω Ἐλαίας κ. κ. ᾿Αθηναγόρα ἀνάθεσις τῆς ἐναισίμου ἀποστολῆς ὡς Σχολάρχου. Οὖτος δ' ὁρμητικῆ τῶν εὐγενῶν προαιρέσει ἔξορμήσας ἐν πάνυ βραχεῖ χρόνω τὸν ὅλον βίον καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτῆς ἀξιεπαίνως προήγαγεν, ἐπὶ ταύτην ἐπισύρας πλήρη καὶ ἀνεπιφύλακτον τὴν ἐπιστημονικὴν ἀναγνώρισιν, ὡς ὄντως περιπύστου καὶ ἀνωτάτου πνευματικοῦ Ἡδρύματος τῆς Χώρας ταύτης Προγραμματισάμενος δὲ ὁ Ἅγιος Σχολάρχης τὸ παρὸν καὶ τὸ μέλλον τῆς Σχολῆς ταύτης εὐρύτατον καὶ φαεινότατον, καυχᾶσθαι ἔχει, ἐπεὶ ὁμοθύμως, πιστῶς καὶ πανσθενεὶ πάντες οἱ ἐν αὐτῆ διδάσκοντες καὶ διδασκόμενοι ἑπόμεθα αὐτῷ.

Ύμεῖς δέ, φίλοι Φοιτηταί, ὑπόθεσις καὶ καύχημα τῆς Ἱερᾶς ταύτης Σχολῆς τοῦ Τιμίου Σταυροῦ, ἐπιδόθητε μετ' ἐνθέου ζήλου εἶς τε τὴν ἐκμάθησιν τῆς θεσπεσίας γλώττης τοῦ Ἱεροῦ Εὐαγγελίου, ἐν ὧ καὶ δι' οῦ καθηγιάσθη αὕτη ὡς γλῶττα τῆς 'Ορθοδόξου Θεολογίας, ἀναδείξατ' ἑαυτοὺς φρονήσει καὶ ἐπιμελεία ἐπαξίους τῶν προσδοκιῶν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Μυσταγωγούς, ἔργω τέλος καὶ λόγω ἐν βίω τιμήσατε

έσαεὶ τὴν ἐχτρέφουσαν ὑμᾶς Μεγαλώνυμον Σχολήν. Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις, εἴη μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν ἡ χάρις τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. ᾿Αμήν.

Brookline, Mass. 'Οπτωδρίου 21, 1956.

In conferring of the "Order of Preachers of the Orthodox Church" to the senior class, the Dean, Bishop Athenagoras, delivered the following remarks:

It is with profound and reverent thankfulness to Almighty God that we gather here today to observe the Service of Investiture and Matriculation, an event that is academically and theologically significant in the calendar of the Holy Cross Orthodox Theological School. This is a solemn occasion for the administration, the faculty, the student body, and the loyal friends of the School: for it marks the acceptance of a sacred responsibility on the part of those who are matriculating, and who are now undertaking the devoted duty of a ready and unhesitating willingness to labor for the greater glory of God and the enlightenment of man.

It is the aim of our School—and we try to underscore this in our curriculum and policies—to harmoniously combine the theological and intellectual elements that favorably contribute to the proper processes of Christian learning, thinking, and behavior We feel that these young men, who will in the future preach the Word of God, must in the first place have the soundness of faith that does not waiver in the face of the sharp and often relentless attacks of the sordid philosophies of individual anarchy and universal confusion. And in the second place, we believe that the academic preparation of our young men must be of that disciplined nature that contributes to clear judgment and broad-mindedness, which are made possible, of course, only through the patient labors of intellectual study and Christian meditation.

In the tranquil, the orderly, and contemplative design of their pursuits and studies, the students and faculty here seek a mutual fulfillment that identifies itself with three basic things that are sadly missing from the educational philosophy of our day and age, as well as from the business of everyday living. These are the divine virtues that emanate from Wisdom, Piety, and Divine Revelation. And old sage once said that "It is the quiet and still mind that is wise and prudent." And it is exactly this that we at the Theological School are striving to achieve, for history, in its ebb and flow, both in its bright and dark periods, shows us that Wisdom and Prudence are the intellectual and spiritual attributes which often produce faith, where there is doubt; love, where there is hate and egoism; and charity, where there is selfishness and one-sided ambition

The selfish search for knowledge, for the sake of knowledge, is not the concern or goal of the Theological School. Knowledge is not the surpeme achievement of man; rather, we believe our highest task is the purgation of the mind from all sorts of evil, the awakening in one of the impulse towards the inward discipline which is the condition of spiritual vision and illumination, accompanied ultimately by the sense that the will of the ordinary self must be negated, so that the divine will might be in all Thus, only true holiness is the key to divine knowledge

As Christian Orthodox we believe that piety is the key to knowledge and that depth of understanding proceeds from purity of life. As future Preachers of the Word of God, these young men seek for all the beauty of the divine life with its obedience to God. It is, above all, the divine virtues that they now embrace. Humility, which is the greatest attribute of holiness and the renunciation of the idea that man is equal to God, charity, which looks to God, but never ceases working for man; purity, which is the perfect moderation of all appetites and steadfast affection for the perfect ideal of celestial beauty set up by Christ in our hearts

Orthodoxy has long influenced the thought and lives of men in Christendom. To-day's Matriculation Service further emphasizes the fact that Orthodoxy continues to exert an important and indispensable influence in American life, as well Students who have prepared themselves scholastically and theologically at this School presently occupy important spiritual positions in American communities. Their message, the message of the Theological School, is "Love of God" and the "Goodness of God in everything that lives."

NOTES ON THE CONTRIBUTORS

- Right Rev. Athenagoras, Bishop of Elaia, is Dean and Chairman of the Department of Systematic Theology at the Holy Cross Orthodox Theological School, Editor of *The Greek Orthodox Theological* Review, and Bishop of the Third Episcopal District of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America with headquarters in Boston, Massachusetts.
- George S. Bebis is doing graduate work at the Harvard Divinity School.
- James S. Counelis is a member of the faculty of the Woodrow Wilson Branch, the Chicago Junior College, Chicago, Illinois.
- **Dr. John E. George** is Assistant Professor of Greek and Sociology at the Holy Cross Orthodox Theological School.
- Basil S. Giannakakis is now at the Harvard Law School, where he is completing his doctoral dissertation.
- Dr. Vasil T. Istavridis, who did his graduate work at the School of Divinity, Boston University, is Professor of Church History at the Theological School of Halki, Constantinople.
- George A. Panichas, book critic for the Springfield Republican, is Assistant Professor of English at the Holy Cross Orthodox Theological School and Managing Editor of The Greek Orthodox Theological Review.
- John E. Rexine is Instructor in Humanities at Brandeis University, and a frequent contributor to scholarly publications.
- Rev. Dr. Eusebius A. Stephanou is Sub-Dean of the Holy Cross Orthodox Theological School and Associate Professor of Comparative Theology and Apologetics.
- Rev. Dr. George Tsoumas is Professor of Church History at the Holy Cross Orthodox Theological School.







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It is well known that the Ecumenical Movement has, paradoxically enough, produced a real revival of 'confessionalism', i.e. a new interest of each denomination for its sources, a desire to return to them. It is certainly a positive fact, for it gives the ecumenical encounter its real theological depth. Yet in order to be 'ecumenical' and not 'sectarian', this confessionalism, this fresh study of sources and traditions must necessarily be undertaken against a realistic knowledge of the contemporary theological situation in its general ecumenical dimensions. It is to this need that the book of Dr. Horton fulfills and we must be thankful to him for the way he wrote it.

On many particular points one would like to have more detailed analysis. To give but one example, the very deep differences in the whole understanding of Mariology between the Roman Church and the Eastern Orthodox is not given a sufficient emphasis. But, of course, the size of the book made it impossible for Dr. Horton to give us more than an inspiring introductory study, a guiding principle. The large section devoted to bibliography, references and questions will allow everyone to continue the study which Dr. Horton's book has so well introduced.

- REV. ALEXANDER SCHMEMANN

THE GREEK THEOLOGICAL REVIEW

THE GREEK ORTHODOX THEOLOGICAL REVIEW. Easter Issue, Vol. II, No. 1, 1956, pp. 128. \$3.50 per year.

A decade ago few observers of the American Church would have suggested that by mid-century Orthodoxy in the United States would be producing, albeit somewhat sporadically, two theological journals. The Easter issue of the journal of the Greek seminary at Brookine is a delightfully balanced survey of Orthodox theology, philosophy, and culture. Four of the fourteen contributors have been teachers or students at St. Vladimir's.

The Dean, Bishop Athenagoras (Kokinakkis), contributes two editorials, four book reviews (Metropolitan Maximos on the Malabar Syrians, Anne Frementle's Treasury of Early Christianity, a recent Greek plea for disciplinary reform, and a study of Cypriot culture), and his address, in ancient Greek, at the 1955 Matriculation service. The second editorial, Orthodox Witness, is particularly fine.

Father Stephanou defines Patristic philosophy in its Hellenic perspective, indicates its role in the Church, and defends it against the later western development which had broken with it, in an article entitled An Orthodox Approach to Christian Philosophy. Father Florovsky contributes a paper on Patristic Eschatology, which incidentally illustrates Stephanou's primary thesis, and reviews the 1951 Oxford Conference of Patristic scholars in Notes and Reviews. Father Romanides sympathetically analyses the Ecclesiology of Khomiakov from the French literature, points out deficiencies, and concludes that his abiding value lay in paving "the way for a return to the Fathers of the Church." Stanley Harakas summarizes the provocative criticism of contemporary secularism of Alexander Tsirintanis, a lay professor of Law at Athens, prompting a regret that Tsirintanis' major works are unavailable in English. The theology and technique of the icon are presented in papers by John Papajohn and Demetrios Dukas.

One need not have read Professor Bratsiotis' Ecclesiastes to approve the competent and discriminating review of Mr. Zacharopoulos. John Rexine reviews Istavridis (Greek) biography of Professor John G. Panagiotides, and George Panichas reviews Bishop Athenagoras' English translation of the Akathist Hymn, and Constantine Cav-

arnos' Byzantine Sacred Music. George Bebis reviews a study of Christian monuments on the Island of Skiathos by John Frangoulas, and Father Timothy Andrews provides a bibliography of recent Church-related books, mostly Greek. The evaluation of Ruth Korper's Candlelight Kingdom, by John George, fails to identify it for what it is: an aesthetic appreciation of a charming, slightly fantastic, relic, which has no real existence outside of the Korper imagination; exactly what one would expect from an observer introduced to the Church by Nicholas Zernov, whose own Orthodoxy is certainly original and probably nominal.

The Very Reverend Gerasimos Papadopoulos article (Pp. 41-55), The Revelatory Character of the New Testament and Holy Tradition in the Orthodox Church, attempts to define the right relationship between Tradition and Scripture. It is impossible to give a fair summary of the essay in this space, but one cannot avoid the impression that Father's specialty, he is Professor of New Testament at Brookline, has given his presentation a somewhat one-sided character. The position of Tradition in Orthodoxy is of the greatest significance in the whole complex of her theology, and now has an especial importance in view of the current discussions outside of the Church. It is to be hoped that this article will stimulate a discussion resulting in a needed clarification.

- REV. WILLIAM SUTFIN SCHNEIRLA

A NEW HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY

Geschichte der Philosophie, Johannes Hirschberger, Vol. I: Altertum und Mittelalter, pp. vxi - 476; Voll. II: Neuzeit und Gegenwart, pp. xvii - 641, Verlag Herder, Freiburg i. Br. Second Edition, 1955 (First Edition: 1952 and 1949).

This is a very useful book. The partly systematical, not only historical, way of its presentation of the subject, makes it especially valuable: it can be used by students, not only as an historical outline of the thought of individual thinkers and groups of thinkers, but also as an instructive survey of the development of the chief problems of philosophy. But there is a definite difference in the way of the presentation of the subject in volumes I and II. Vol. I, Ancient (i.e. Greek) and Medieval Philosophy-is perhaps too summary. Herakutos, for example, gets not quite two pages. The mystical traits of his thought — the touch of transcendency suddenly appearing in his doctrine of the immanent Logos — are left unheeded. Likewise, in the presentation of the doctrine of Plotinus the mystical ascension of the soul to God-the summit of his philosophy-is only just mentioned. This first volume ought to have been expanded into two volumes making it possible to dwell at greater length on those thinkers that have been presented a little too summarily. This is not the case with Plato: seventy-one, narrowly printed pages: The exposition is masterly and detailed. But it is perhaps too static. The dynamic quality of Plato's thought, rich in development, in dialectic movement and dramatic tension and presenting different ways of approaching the same subjects and even contradictory statements, this dramatic grappling of Plato with the ultimate problems of Reality, his shifting attitude between radical dualism and spiritualistic monism, the restlessness of his spirit and his attempt to revise again and again his previous solutions—this side of his spiritual personality, his spiritual alertness and keeness, which constitutes one most remarkable element of his greatness and depth as a thinker, this dynamic side (which has been so convincingly outlined e.g. by Rudolf Eucken in his book on The Great Thinkers and by Vladimir Solovyev in his famous essay, "The Drama of Plato") has not been sufficiently emphasized by the author; it



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receiving the risks that go with it. With supreme self-reliance the man of the late Modern Western Civilization continues to look down upon the "original version of his own" civilization as being "medieval" and all other contemporary societies as "semi-civilized." It makes one wonder in which category the Orthodox Christian Society should belong, since Eastern Orthodox Christianity is the religious framework of a distinct culture.

Certainly, Toynbee's voice is an important one in giving a prophetic expression to the spiritual bankruptcy of Western Society. He sounds the warning to an age facing global disaster. This much credit we must give him. He affirms that Western Society cannot live by bread alone, as it has tried to do so for the past three centuries. His analysis and insight into the interpretation of events are ingenious, and his demonstration of the tragedy of the history of Western man is superbly performed. Yet, he is a product of the very culture he wishes to diagnose, and hampered as he is by the infirmities and limitations of that culture, he has proposed a religion which, instead of effecting a cure, will perpetuate the crisis of the West, unless, of course, global destruction brings a quick end to it.

THE VERY REV. EUSEBIUS A. STEPHANOU

PETER HAMMOND, The Waters of Marah: The Present State of the Greek Church. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1956. Pp. 186.

This book is quite different from previous ones written on the subject, for it not only demonstrates a considerable understanding of the Greeks and their Orthodox faith in its various aspects — be these dogmatic, mystical, or ritual — but also it is written without the prejudice and bias that have characterized some of the works of Western writers that have appeared in the past, especially during the centuries of the subjugation of Hellas by the Turkish oppressors. In contrast to some of his earlier predecessors, the author of this work shows a sympathetic attitude toward the Greeks who underwent dreadful trials and persecutions during World War II and its aftermath; and he is full of admiration for the vigorous qualities of the Greek Church and people displayed in the rebuilding of schools, churches, and whole villages, as well as sustaining the religious and ethnic morale of the nation shattered by a disastrous war and a communistic revolution.

The Waters of Marah, of course, is not a systematic and thorough study of the subject, and as the author himself states, "I have set out to

write a book which is rather in the nature of a personal impression of the present state of the Greek Church than a systematic handbook to her doctrine and practice." Also, the subtitle, The Present State of the Greek Church, is somewhat misleading since the work basically describes rather the ruins and appalling catastrophe of a period which was the result of two great destructive conflicts. It is, however, a work which throws much light and truth on the religion of Greece and on her people, from which "the scholar and the specialist" and "the ordinary layman" of the West, as well, can profit.

There is an extensive body of literature in different languages on the subject, as seen in the books written by traveling scholars, diplomats, and churchmen of the West during the domination of Turks; all, however, as a rule, have a touch of prejudice and even indicate some contempt for the Greeks and their religion, and as such they show lack of understanding and truth. During the last hundred years little has been written in English concerning the Greek Church; thus, the present book is a much needed one in the West, since "during the last few years there has been a steady growth of interest in the Greek Church amongst Western Christians of many different traditions."

The book is based mainly on first-hand experiences. The author spent approximately two years (1948-1950) traveling and studying in Greece, mostly in Macedonia. There are fourteen small chapters, a prologue, an epilogue, glossary, and index in the book. In the prologue some historical material is introduced as background for understanding the subject matter of the book and the author frequently quotes from the previous writers. In the following chapters he mentions many persons, churchmen and laymen, with whom he became acquainted in his travels, and he illustrates, consequently, the realities of Greek life, both in its secular and religious manifestations.

He praises and admires the endurance and the courage of the Greek peasants who gallantly challenged the communist uprising and destruction. He speaks highly of the Greek people in their efforts to bring about reconstruction, and of their determination to carry on religious life (feasts, divine liturgies, etc.) regardless of danger from the bombardment and gunfire of the communists. He grasps and understands both the unity of theology and mysticism in the Greek Church and the close relationship of the past and present heritage of the Greek people in regard to religion and national life in general. "In Greece," he rightly says, "it is peculiarly difficult to disentangle past and present."

The writer fully appreciates the deep meaning and the spiritual powers that the symbolism of the liturgical life exercises upon the faithful Orthodox, and he compares the Greek Church to "heaven upon earth" as indeed did the "envoys of the prince of Kiev" in A.D. 987 who related, as the story has it, after attending the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom in St. Sophia in Constantinople, that "we did not know if we were on earth or in heaven; for there is no such splendour to be found anywhere upon earth. Describe it we cannot: we know only that it is there that God dwells among men." The author also describes the ritual life of fast and feasts in the Greek Church. He speaks of the struggle and efforts of the Christian Greek Orthodox to save and preserve both Orthodoxy and Hellenism during the Turkish domination of Greece, and he stresses the unity of religion and patriotism. This idea, of course, in the present struggle for Cyprus for liberation, has caused much criticism by Westerners who fail to understand the historical relationship of Greek history and Orthodoxy, and consequently the fact that the Greeks are fighting for a "Christian" civilization and nation.

He regards the position of the divine liturgy in the Greek worship as a central one by saying that it is "the characteristic action of the whole Christian Community"; and he seems to favor the introduction of liturgical reforms into the Anglican Church, similar to the liturgy of Greek Orthodoxy, which might serve even the idea of the Union of the Churches. In the fifth chapter the author gives a good description of a church service and favors the concelebration which is necessitated by the rule: only one liturgy at each altar on a Sunday.

A genuine interest for monasticism is shown by the author, who visited Mt. Athos, the Thessalian Thebaid (Meteora monasteries), and other holy centers of monasticism. He studied the life of the monks and the conditions of the monasteries and found that the monastic life has an important position in Eastern Orthodoxy. He observes that at present monasticism is undergoing a crisis, caused by the attempted reinterpretation of the New Movement in the Greek Church, and he says that prayer and meditation cannot be superceded by the New Movement.

The organization of an isolated Macedonian diocese is delineated here and the services rendered by it to Church and Country show once again the close relationship of Church and State. The history of a country parson (Papa-Costas) is also of interest, serving to illustrate the position of the priest among his flock, and his religious and secular services.

Chapters XI, XII, and XIII are especially devoted to the New Movement in the Greek Church, the beginning of which he places in 1839 at Megaspelaion Kalavryta. The revival in the Greek Church was initiated, he says, by a certain layman, Cosmas Phlamiatos. There are many religious organizations today in Greece but chief of all is $\langle Z\omega\eta\rangle$ to which he devotes considerable space.

To « $Z\omega\eta$ » he ascribes the most important developments in the modern Greek Church, and gives a good account of its founder, Eusebius Matthopoulos, minimizing at the same time the alleged fanaticism and other faults of Apostolos Makrakis by whom he was inspired.

He maintains that «Zωή» carries on the "Battle of the Depth," "which is based in prayer and the study of the Scriptures, finding its center in the divine liturgy and the sacraments." The important part played by the laymen in Greece, in connection with these church movements, is stressed a great deal in this book, and the author says that from such an illuminating example the West can and must learn. He points out that while the "Battle of the Depth" is carried on in Greece by both the clergy and the lay who teach religion in public schools and churches, in the West this kind of instruction is left wholly to the clergy.

In the Epilogue a summary of the present state of the Greek Church is given by quoting from the preface of the publication of the Christian Union of Professional Men of Greece, Toward a Christian Civilisation, published during the communistic revolution: "We know that our happiness (or unhappiness) depends not on the outcome of external political events but on whether the Christian and spiritual foundations of our life are firmly established or not.' Their voice, they concluded, was not the despairing voice of a nation crying out to the world: morituri te salutamus; rather it was that of a people who, even from the depth of their present agony, sought to echo our Lord's words: 'If a man keep my saying, he shall never see death.'"

That is, the author says, the spirit that is prevalent in Greece today. And in substantiating this lofty and deeply religious spirit of modern Greece, he concludes with a vivid picture of the celebration of the feast of the Epiphany in the township of Edessa in 1949, during which the violence of the bombardment by the communists forced the service at the ancient basilica to stop in the middle. There was fear of the crumbling down of the church building, and the service was resumed immediately in another church, ending with the Great Blessing of the Waters by the Bishop, amidst the clamor of the artillery and the rattle of small arms fire resulting from the bombardment that raged outside.



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TOYNBEE AND THE ORTHODOX CHRISTIAN SOCIETY

By THE VERY REV. EUSEBIUS A. STEPHANOU

We can be reasonably certain that the thirteen-volume work by the British historian, Arnold Toynbee, A Study of History, will probably be acclaimed as one of the monumental works in the field of history in all the twentieth century. Its importance does not lie in the assumption that it is a unique addition to our shelf of history books, but rather that it represents a fresh interpretation of history. In Toynbee we do not have mere history, but rather a philosophy of history, indeed, a final moral of all history for the crucial age of contemporary Western Civilization. His work can be regarded as a timely contribution to the solution of the problems that perplex the modern world. This appears to be his ultimate purpose: to show that the Western world can discover from its own history what will save it from global conflict and the inevitable result of total destruction.

But why should Toynbee engage the special attention of the Orthodox Church and call for an evaluation from this quarter of Christendom? Is there any good reason why the Orthodox Church should pass judgment on his A Study of History? It is not so much the moral philosophy that the Orthodox student is interested in, as it is the fact that the writer takes into serious account the Orthodox Church in its cultural manifestation. Indeed, the most significant mark of his work, from the standpoint of the Orthodox Church, is the revealing fact that he gives unquestionable recognition to the "Orthodox Christian Society," as distinct and separate from "Western Society," however true it may be that he refers to them as "twin societies."

Toynbee reminds us of a truth forgotten even within Orthodoxy, that "Western Society" is not alone as a civilization of Europe, and that the West cannot be identified with what is commonly known as "Western Civilization." Western Society is not the only claimant to the title of "European Civilization." The Orthodox Christian Society is unequivocally asserted as a distinct civilization in terms which prove Toynbee unique in this respect. He re-affirms the truth, lost in oblivion, that the Orthodox Christian Society is the cultural expression of the Orthodox Church.

A serious difficulty arises, however, when we come to Toynbee's ambiguity as to the reality of the continuity of the Orthodox Christian Society. In fact, he has been regarded by some as the leader of the "anti-Byzantium school," and this study will consider some of his statements which seem to betray his denial of the continuity of the Orthodox Christian Society of Byzantium. The Orthodox student cannot remain indifferent to such a thesis which would cast doubt on the genuine continuity of Orthodox Society, since the claims of Orthodoxy to absolute truth really rest on the concept of continuity. To deny continuity is to deny the very credentials on which the whole of her pretension to uniqueness rests. Complacency in this regard would be disastrous for the Orthodox Church. Since the Orthodox Church claims that she is the authentic and true Church of history, because she can trace her origin back to Christ and the Apostles in an unbroken continuity, then the unbroken continuity of the Christ-centered Civilization with which she identifies herself must be evidence of its own authenticity and uniqueness.

We must be vigilant especially when Toynbee likens Western Society to Orthodox Christian Society. Occasionally, it appears as if neither represents an unbroken continuity of the Graeco-Roman Empire. The "cradle of our Western Society," he points out, is not the Graeco-Roman Empire but rather the "interregnum" which falls between the "disappearance" of the Graeco-Roman Society in A.D. 410, when the Goths overran Italy and there emerged the Carolingian dynasty. We cannot disagree that in 800 Charlemagne failed to restore the Roman Empire and that it was the ghost of the Roman Empire that he revived. However, in his anxiety to prove the Orthodox Christian Society a twin of Western Society, Toynbee searches for a parallel in the East and decides that Leo the Isaurian evoked the "ghost of the Roman Empire" in Byzantium in A.D. 720. The only difference is that "the Holy Roman Empire of the West faded away into the nullity of a ghost of a ghost" upon the death of Charlemagne.1 Of course, a ghost is more than a 'ghost of a ghost." At least, this much credit Toynbee would probably concede to the Empire in the East. Moreover, the author holds that it was a successful resuscitation on Orthodox Christian ground and "materialized into a substantial and efficient centralized state." 2 Yet, it is not at all simple to understand what is meant by a "ghost of a Roman Empire."

An "evocation of the Roman Empire" clearly implies that the Roman Empire had ceased to exist some time before Emperor Leo. At

¹ Arnold Toynbee, A Study of History (London: Oxford University Press, 1948), III, 274.

² Op. cst., IV, 340.

what point are we to discern this supposed extinction? Although he plainly speaks of a "disappearance" of Graeco-Roman Society in the West which explains a subsequent revival, he does not explicitly refer to a similar "disappearance" in the East, despite the fact that he infers this. For, if there were a restoration of the ghost of the Roman Empire in the East, it is naturally assumed that it followed a "disappearance." But it is sheer distortion of historical facts to say that the extinction of Hellenism in Italy in the fifth century during the invasions of the northern barbarians was paralleled by a similar cataclysm in the East. It is a fact of history that the eastern section of the empire withstood all the barbarian inroads and assimilated the Goths who remained within the borders.

If a break in the history of the Roman Empire were ever possible, it would have probably occurred at the time of the transfer of the capital from Old Rome to Byzantium when Constantine allied the State with the Church, broke with the official religion of the past, and identified the fortunes of the Church with those of the State. If Toynbee can recognize the continuity at this point, as he does, then it is curious that he contends that a break would occur after 400 centuries when Hellenism and the Roman Idea became fused into a permanent synthesis and consolidated by the power of the Christian Faith. We can only agree with N. H. Baynes that "there is a break in the development of Western Europe which has no parallel in the Eastern Empire." 8 Also, Constantine's imperial authority was vested with divine sanction and the emperor was accepted as the anointed-one of God. This fact, coupled by the reality of the fusion of the Hellenic and Roman traditions, sealed the permanence of the Byzantine or Eastern Roman Empire. The eternity and divinity of the one universal Church was shared by the one universal imperium. Attachment to the Church meant unquestionable loyalty to the State and vice versa. Toynbee himself admits that "religious allegiance had remained the principal expression of social unity" 4 and, no doubt, he would agree that it was an expression of political unity, too. Hence, Toynbee is too eager to present the two societies as "twins" and seeks his end at the expense of historical accuracy. If Western Society is the "only intelligible field of historical study" according to his conclusion, then it will not help him to acknowledge the unbroken continuity of the Orthodox Christian Society. Lindsay rightly says that "Toynbee has no arguments; he has only prejudice." 5

The original "breakdown" of the Orthodox Christian Society is

³ N. H. Baynes, The Byzantine Empire, p. 238.

⁴ Op. cit., I, 34.

Lindsay, Byzantium into Europe, p. 465.

placed in the tenth century at the time of the Great Bulgaro-Roman War. Yet, on the other hand, it is asserted that the Orthodox Christian Society was "incorporated into the body social of our own Western Culture since the beginning of the break-up of the old Ottoman Empire." 6 If a "breakdown" occurred in the tenth century, then there would not have been an Orthodox Christian Society in the nineteenth century to be incorporated into Western Society. These two views cannot be reconciled. This is only one of the several instances in which the writer is consistently inconsistent. First, the Orthodox Christian Society is "broken down" or is "moribund"; then it appears as a real, distinct society being assimilated by the West. Toynbee is clear about the "restoration of the ghost of the Roman Empire" in the East. He repeatedly refers to it, as a basic assumption, and thus makes his position unambiguous as to the discontinuity of the empire in Byzantium. But the following statement, to be sure, is incompatible with such a view. "The Eastern line whose capital was Constantinople did officially continue to rule a Roman Empire from A.D. 397 to A.D. 1453 without any formal break."7 This is an outright contradiction to his apparently fundamental position concerning the breakdown and death of the Orthodox Christian Society in the sixth and eleventh century.

We must take a look at the interesting distinction drawn between Charlemagne's "failure which saved the West" and Leo's success which "ruined the Orthodox Christian Society." The inference is that the freedom of the Church after Charlemagne's abortive attempt to keep the Empire united was salutary to Western Society, while Leo's success meant the ruin of the Orthodox Christian Society, perhaps because of the subordination of the Eastern Church to the Crown. Toynbee here grossly misinterprets the mission of the Church when he states that "the restoration of the empire (under Leo) was fatal to the development of the Ecumenical Patriarchate." Again he assumes that the empire had disappeared before Leo's time and that the Church was presumably functioning somewhat with a temporal purpose similar to that of the Papal Church. It is to be wondered what sort of development would Toynbee have wished the Patriarchate to have held?

A further attempt is made to demonstrate the twin sistership of the two societies when he regards Patriarch Sergius of the seventh century as the Eastern counterpart of Pope Gregory the Great of the sixth century. But Sergius, in the author's judgment, does not quite match the

⁶ Op. cit., IV, 79.

⁷ Op. cit., IV, 328.

⁸ Op. cst., IV, 323.

⁹ Op. cit., IV, 335.

"excellence" of the Roman Pontiff (probably in establishing Papal absolutism). It is strange that Toynbee should give so little credit to Sergius and to all the Eastern Patriarchs who safeguarded the spiritual character of their authority and resisted all temptation for temporal aggrandizement. "Sergius failed in Orthodox Christendom to lay the foundations of a social structure of the same grandeur as the Western Republica Christiana that was conceived and inaugurated by Gregory." Our author betrays his distorted sense of values when he finds "grandeur" in the social structure of the Papal West.

Although Toynbee appears to believe in the total disappearance of Hellenism in the fifth century, he gives us further reason to believe that he accepts the continuity of Hellenism in the East. In fact, he speculates on the position of Hellenism in the Orthodox Christian Society. He expresses regret at the fact that in the East there is no counterpart to the Renaissance of the West. It is a mistake when he thinks that Hellenism could have served as a "stimulus" in the East. It was rather Christianity that was a stimulus to Hellenism, which reached its stage of bankruptcy in the age just subsequent to the birth of Christ. How could Hellenism stimulate that which proved to be its own stimulant? Besides, Hellenism was always part of the Christian heritage of Byzantium. It was impossible to have a Renaissance in the East, for Hellenism had long since finished its part. It had never been estranged from the Church, as occurred in the West at the time of Gregory the Great. The pagan elements were purged from the Hellenism which was fused with Christianity. It was the contemplative strain of the Hellenic tradition which especially found itself at home in the Christian East, and which allied itself with the Christian Faith. Rationalism and scholasticism, which in the West caused intellectual confusion, played no part in the East. Toynbee is mistaken in taking Hellenism as an "incubus" in the Orthodox Christian Society. There was nothing to fear in Hellenism, for it was the legacy of antiquity baptized in the Christian Faith. Hellenism had long since offered its service to the cause of the Faith, especially in the early centuries of the dogmatic controversies when Greek philosophy was put to use for the most adequate articulation of the truths of divine revelation. Hellenism could hardly have "inspired" Orthodox Christendom, since it had always been subordinated to the Christian Faith which represented final truth and the final justification of Hellenism. should be remembered that it was Christianity that inspired Hellenism and not vice versa, since Christianity was a new religion with vitality derived from its divine origin which appeared as a rival and successor

¹⁰ Op. cit., IV, 335.

to Hellenism. Hellenism can never inspire Christianity which is in itself the source of all inspiration and unlimited power. It is a misinterpretation of events to hold that Hellenism during the Renaissance was a "potent mental tonic" which produced "its stimulating effect." 11 The course of events in Europe subsequent to the resurrection of the Hellenic genius (Scholasticism and the Renaissance) leads us to conclude that Hellenism "emancipated" from Christianity is productive of no good for the welfare of society. The tensions and disharmony between reason and faith which are the root of the age of Scholasticism, the Reformation, and the Enlightenment were the inevitable outcome of the initial alienation of the Roman Church from Hellenism under Pope Gregory the Great. The Hellenism which finally made inroads into Western Europe in the twelfth century and thereafter originated from without the Church. The synthesis of Hellenism and Christianity, consummated in the East very early in the age of the Greek Fathers, was the object of a new endeavor in the West in the Middle Ages. The failure of the Schoolmen was an invitation to intellectual revolution. The "stimulating effect" of Hellenism in the West was not "proper," as Toynbee would have us believe. Consequently, it is totally unfounded to hold that "Orthodox Christendom actually prepared her pious cultural labor for her western sister's benefit." Hellenism was not profiting the West; it released the forces of skepticism and rationalism, which, although they justly shook the foundations of Papal authority, created the evils of ideological and religious disunity and brought about the loss of cultural orientation. It is utterly false to say that the West turned Hellenism to "profitable account."

It appears that Toynbee is referring to the fall of Constantinople in 1453 when he writes that the Orthodox Christian Society "played the thankless part of the unprofitable servant who is ordered to be cast into outer darkness because he has hidden in the earth the talent, that has been given him to work with." ¹² The Hellenism of the East which Toynbee characterizes as the "hoarded treasure" was a Hellenism cultivated and blossomed in a Christian framework, fulfilled and completed, so as to bring to the human spirit ultimate contentment which it never was able to give to the West.

But now let us turn to Toynbee's interpretation of the destruction of the Byzantine Empire. He speaks of the Turkish subjugation of the empire as the *Pax Ottomanica* which came to "fulfill a long-unsatisfied and urgent requirement of the Orthodox Christian Society." ¹³ There

¹¹ Op. cit., IV, 363.

¹² Op. cit., IV, 363.

¹³ Op. cit., III, 27.

can be no doubt that under Ottoman rule Byzantine traditions were preserved however dormant and inert, and were saved from the adulterating influence of the cultural disruptions of the West, such as the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the Enlightenment. As if by Divine Providence the Orthodox Christian Society was "put away," so to speak, until they subsided in the nineteenth century. The Ottoman Empire probably accomplished what the Byzantine State would have been unable to do in view of the fact that during the latter years of the Empire, it was eager to make overtures to the West for ecclesiastical union. Nonetheless, it is equally true that the Ottoman Empire was always an "alien and an odious power whose heavy yoke was only worn under sheer compulsion."

The Pax Ottomanica is regarded as the "last act in the history of the Orthodox Christian Society," 14 because it is believed that the "triumph of an alien civilization has been swallowing the moribund society and has incorporated its fabric into its own social tissue." Toynbee tries to build quite a case out of the fact of the Turkish absorption of Greek blood. "The Ottoman Turkish people," he contends, "has grown into a nation out of a handful of refugees not by natural increase, but by assimilating the Orthodox Christian population." 15 As a result it is not true in Toynbee's opinion that "Turks and Greeks or Moslems and Christians are what they are by reason of certain racial characteristics or indelible religious hall-marks." 16 The factor chiefly responsible for Greek absorption is the organizing of the Janissaries. "By 1598 there were 101,100 Janissaries and 150,000 'supernumeraries' (engaged in trade)." 17 There can be little doubt that by means of the formation of the Janissaries much Greek blood was assimilated by the Turkish overlords. This, however, does not warrant the contention in the least that the antithesis between Greek and Turk is no longer to be explicable in racial and religious terms. Far from it.18 Toynbee is guilty of oversimplifying the facts by applying his a priori law of "stimulus of penalization." He believes that the common experience of being penalized on account of religion has been the governing factor in the development of both communities, the Greeks in Turkey and the Turks in Russia. The author applies his own law and reaches the conclusion that Greek and Turk has been "bred into a 'family likeness' with each other which has quite effaced the diversity between the original imprints of Ortho-

¹⁴ Op. cit., IV, 78.

¹⁵ Op. cit., II, 228.

¹⁶ Op. cet., II, 230.

¹⁷ Op. cit., III, 45.

¹⁸ Op. cit., II, 228.

dox Christianity and Islam." ¹⁹ Nothing, of course, could be further removed from the truth. Being part of the Greek race is ample proof of the fallaciousness of such a sweeping statement. Experience is more of a convincing test for truth in this regard than any historian's theory.

But even Toynbee himself is not quite convinced what the diversity between the original imprints of Orthodox Christians and Islam had been, judging from other assertions he makes. He contradicts himself when he speaks of the Westernization of the Orthodox Christian Society after the breakdown of the Ottoman rule. How can there have been an Orthodox Christian Society when the diversity between the original imprints of Orthodox Christianity and Islam "has been effaced"? On the one hand, the Orthodox Christian Society is considered as assimilated; on the other hand, it is only "moribund" and on its way out. It appears as being at once extinct and in the process of extinction. Simultaneously, it has disappeared and is about to disappear. The evident inconsistency demonstrates clearly the falsification of the facts.

How is it to be explained that the Greeks under Ottoman rule "continued to expect the restoration of the Eastern Roman Empire by a miraculous intervention of God," 20 if their distinction from the Turks cannot be explained in religious terms? For Toynbee, the Orthodox Christian Society is always "moribund" or extinct, yet always dreaming of the restoration of the Eastern Roman Empire. If there does exist a hope of resurrection, then there must be life in the very source of this hope. No doubt, the Greeks preserved their cultural traits and their consciousness as being spiritually and socially distinct from Islam. The Orthodox Christian Society was a living reality throughout the period of its Turkish subjugation, though it was deprived of its political expression.

Toynbee's interpretation of the role of the Phanariot family under Turkish rule deserves special attention. Of course, his is not an original view on the subject. It is significant, however, that he confirms the belief that were the Greeks not to have revolted in 1821, the Phanariots of Constantinople who held prominent positions in commerce and in the Sublime Porte, would have eventually assumed control in Turkey. It is an unquestionable fact that they had entered into the whole heritage of the Ottoman Empire. Their plan was to keep it intact as a "going concern" under Greek instead of Turkish management. It is a view that has found acceptance with many, that were the unity and life of the

¹⁹ Op. cit., II, 230.

²⁰ Op. cit., VII, 30.

Ottoman Empire maintained, central authority would have peacefully been transferred from the Turks to the Phanariots.

But national sentiment knows no procrastination and discretion. The surge of a new kind of nationalism inspired by the French Revolution spread among the Greeks who reminded themselves that they were descendants of the ancient Hellenes and heirs of a Hellas that ought to be free and independent. This new patriotism prevailed to turn the Greeks from any kind of peaceful maneuvering for independence, and the ensuing revolution spoiled the splendid chances of the Phanariots who were seeking to achieve their manifest destiny. Toynbee phrases it eloquently when he writes that the "reed on which the Turks had been leaning for more than a century had pierced their hand and their fury at this betrayal nerved them to break the treacherous staff in pieces and to stand again at all costs on their own feet." ²¹

Toynbee is not far from the truth in his explanation of the consequences rising out of the emancipation of the Greeks and the break-up of the Ottoman Empire. We must agree that the political freedom of the Greeks meant their cultural servitude. The "triumph of Westernization" was rather a slow and gradual process at work immediately upon acquisition of political independence, though certainly it can be detected even at an earlier date in the influence of the "Logades" (Western-educated Greeks) who spent most of their life in Western Europe. That Westernization set in is an indisputable fact, but this is not to say that Westernization has triumphed. Toynbee is mistaken when he speaks of the "triumph of Westernization."

Although the author appears to deny the continuity of the history of the Orthodox Christian Society, it would be correct to conclude that in reality he is involved in repeated inconsistencies and contradictions on the matter. What are we to believe? Is he convinced that there is or there is not a continuity? The probability of the case is that he is intellectually convinced by the facts of history that the Byzantine Empire and Orthodoxy subsequent to the Fall of Constantinople comprise a continuum from Roman to Hellenistic times. On the other hand, he is compelled to prove Western Society as "that intelligible field of historical study," 22 because he belongs to this Society and feels bound to defend it as the legitimate European Society.

Although he speaks of the Byzantine Empire as a "ghost of a Roman Empire," yet on the basis of its sustaining power which he admits, it is in actuality the flesh and bones of a Roman Empire. Despite his

²¹ Op. cit., II, 222.

²² Op. cit., I, 36.

characterization as "the leader of what may be called the anti-Byzantium School," 23 it would not be fair to say that he unreservedly rejects the idea of continuity. In all probability, he admits that the continuity involves more than the carrying-on of the name "Roman Empire." A "ghost" has more in common with its original than just its name. Toynbee would perhaps agree with Lindsay that the idea of the supreme imperium is the "spinal cord of Roman constitutional history" and the "linking conception between the principate of Augustus and the Godsustained monarchy of a Byzantine autocrat." 24 It is no doubt the linking conception and sustaining principle up to 1453, and indeed to a much later date, since the Ecumenical Patriarch was thereafter looked up to as "ethnarches" and successor of the vanquished Emperor.

We must remember Toynbee's belief that the Roman Empire "was never successfully resuscitated" after Charlemagne²⁵ which is tantamount to acknowledging the total lack of continuity in Western European Society from Graeco-Roman times. The Holy Roman Empire was merely a "ghost of a ghost" of the Roman Empire and represented a continuity only in name. While the "interregnum," which is spoken of as the period following the disappearance of the Hellenic Society under the barbarian invasions, was the cradle of Western Society, Graeco-Roman Society baptized in Christianity was the cradle of Orthodox Christian Society persisting at present in its religious and ecclesiastical form.

Scarcely then can we say with Toynbee that the two societies are "twin societies." Twins originate from common parents. While the Orthodox Christian Society was born from Graeco-Roman culture and Orthodox Christianity, Western Society took birth from the Papal-Roman Church and a Teutonic Europe. We may concede that there is an "affiliation" of the two Societies, but they cannot be regarded as twin Societies, since in order for two to be twins they must, to be sure, come out of a common matrix.

Toynbee explicitly notes that in the West "socially there had been a cataclysm. The Hellenic Civilization had gone to pieces and a social interregnum had ensued out of which the New Western Civilization eventually emerged." 26 But such an interregnum is never to be found in the East and nowhere does Toynbee claim that there is one, though perhaps he may imply it when he speaks in general terms of the "death

²³ Lindsay, op. cit., p. 465.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 237. ²⁵ Op. cit., III, 274. ²⁶ Op. cit., III, 173.

of Hellenic Society" under the barbarians who "overran the Roman Empire." ²⁷ In the light, however, of our foregoing considerations there can be no remaining doubt on this score.

But why need we pursue our argument further? The most convincing and final proof of Toynbee's acceptance of the present reality of an Orthodox Christian Society is his own concise and unequivocal statement that "we are left with no more than ten civilizations out of twenty-six that are actually alive today. These ten are our own Western Society, the main body of Orthodox Christendom in the Near East, the offshoot of Orthodox Christendom in Russia, the Islamic Society, etc. . . ." ²⁸ Undoubtedly, this is conclusive evidence of Toynbee's true opinion.

If Toynbee maintains that the Orthodox Christian Society is a present-day reality, then, certainly, we who belong to it have no justification for questioning it. Instead, we have need of becoming more deeply conscious of this fact, of reflecting on it, and drawing therefrom all the inferences logically inherent in this imposing reality. There is a need for reminding ourselves that we belong not only to a distinct Church, but also to a distinct civilization. Although we live in the Western world, we must remember that we are members of a different culture by reason of our membership in the Orthodox Church. Physically we may live in the West, but culturally and spiritually we stand in another world, the Orthodox Christian Society.

The history and development of this Society are disassociated from the main stream of events that took place in the West. In a certain sense, it is the only true European culture. It has more rightful claim to the title "European Civilization" when we bear in mind that it preserved its continuity with the very springs of European thought, namely, the classical heritage of the Greeks.

It should be evident that Orthodoxy is not merely one among the several Churches in the Western world. It is more than a Church. It is the remaining embodiment of the age-long Byzantine or Orthodox Christian Society. It is the final and sole heir of what history has preserved from the time of the Graeco-Roman Civilization. Thus, the Orthodox Church should be viewed as a historical and living reality that bears within it the seeds of cultural growth and fruition. Its cultural involvements are of inestimable significance, but this fact is little realized even in Greece. Too often it is forgotten that Orthodoxy bears

²⁷ Op. cit., I, 62.

²⁸ Op. cit., IV, 1.

within it inherent traditions not only of a religious nature, but of an intellectual and political one.

Orthodoxy is a unique Church, because she stands for a unique civilization, which, though coming under the appellation "European," is nonetheless different from what we are accustomed to knowing as the European world in the West.

It would be correct to affirm that with the liberation of Greece in 1829 the Orthodox Christian Society, which was preserved under Ottoman subjugation within the bosom of the Orthodox Church, assumed partial restoration in its political and intellectual manifestations. Indeed the Greek state alone could give political and intellectual resuscitation to the dormant culture of Byzantium, for Greeks, as people, possess a profound sense of cultural continuity with the past and a deep consciousness of being the natural heirs to the Byzantine Society. The heritage of Byzantium is a living reality in Greece.

Nevertheless, is it necessary to recognize that this cultural revival remains imperfect and incomplete in Greece. The temptation to imitate Western institutions and customs has prevented the cultural revival in Greece to its fullest extent. Westernization, which has infected all areas of life in Greece, accounts largely for the impeded restoration of the integrity of Byzantine Society. The political philosophy in modern Greece has been essentially of western inspiration and intellectual trends, too, have felt the influence of western thinking. These two aspects of life in Greece have not established organic continuity with the Byzantine past to the degree that would warrant calling Greece the continuation of Byzantium.

Perfect continuity remains a fact only in the ecclesiastical and religious sphere of Greek life (though even here we may detect evidence of discontinuity, however slight and superficial). The tremendous challenge of modern Greece is to restore to its fulness the continuity with the Byzantine past so far as aesthetic and intellectual life are concerned. This can be achieved only when the Greeks become fully aware of the fact that their nation possesses a unique history, cultural unity, and cultural continuity which the West lacks and, as a consequence, suffers from intellectual and ideological confusion.

What meaning do the cultural implications of the Orthodox Church hold for those Orthodox who live in America? The fact that they live in a Western nation need not necessarily mean that they must relinquish the cultural heritage of Orthodoxy. Rather, they should attempt to fulfill the cultural potentialities of Orthodoxy in this land. If they are to be true to Orthodoxy, they must preserve and disseminate the cultural values and ideals which it bears, and strive for their realization, however

distant and far-removed that end might appear. Orthodoxy is the golden key to a religious, intellectual, and even political unity of which our war-torn world is in dire need. It can serve the Western world's crying need for a cultural Christianity. Orthodoxy, as the principle of cultural continuity and cultural contentment, can save a world confounded by relativism, skepticism, and anxiety.

Not only has Western Christendom failed to cure the West of its cultural evils, but history proves that it is itself responsible for some of these evils. Toynbee's revealing interpretation of the situation of our present-day world crisis is a significant affirmation: "The tide of Christianity has been ebbing and our post-Christian Western secular civilisation that has emerged is a civilisation of the same order as the pre-Christian Graeco-Roman civilisation." ²⁹ The ironic part of the matter is that the pre-Christian Graeco-Roman Civilization with all its moral bankruptcy at least had unity and continuity which the Church in the fourth century strengthened and preserved in Byzantium.

But those who object might possibly plead the "failure" of Orthodoxy in Russia. It has become a common custom to think that the triumph of communism in Russia proves the inherent weakness of Orthodoxy. But we must be cautious at jumping to conclusions so soon. There is every reason to believe that the communist regime is only an interlude or interregnum in the history of the Orthodox Christian Society of Russia.

Besides, the apparent success of communism in Russia is more a discredit to the West than to the Orthodox Christian Society, because it is a by-product of the confusion of Western thought. Marx was a child of Western Society. But this is not to say exactly that communism means the triumph of Westernization in Russia. We may agree rather with Toynbee that "Russia chose to fight Western Civilisation with an ideological heresy that was of Western origin." ⁸⁰

We cannot, therefore, be hasty in passing judgment on Orthodoxy on the grounds that communism prevailed in Russia. Compared to communism the status quo under the Orthodox Czars was celestial. Communism has not proven to be a cure for Russia's needs; and violence, absolutism, and totalitarianism of the state will continue to breed unrest and discontent with results that history teaches us. Communism in Russia will probably be proved by history as a temporary experiment. Meanwhile, Orthodoxy remains the only hope in Russia for the reestablishment of the belief in the dignity of man and in his right to

²⁹ Christianity and Civilization, p. 18. ⁸⁰ Op. cit., VIII, 135.

freedom. The supposed failure of Orthodoxy is more apparent than real in Russia. It is more an embarrassment to Western Society than to the Orthodox Christian Society.

The catastrophe of Western Society is sealed if it fails to find moral revival in cultural homogeneity and historical continuity. Greece once saved the civilization of the West from the threat of the Persians. Christian Hellenism, as the Orthodox Christian Society, later saved it from other barbaric threats. Again it must answer to the crying need of the West and save civilization. Ironically, this time it is not an outside threat; it must save the West from itself.

Toynbee commits the error of ignoring the service that the Orthodox Christian Society can offer to the Western world. He forgets that the Western Civilization that began with the Greeks continued with the Greeks in the Christianity of the East and not with the Teutonic races in the West. Eastern Christendom is more genuinely Western Civilization than Western Christendom, and therefore, it is really the Orthodox Christian Society that is the "intelligible field of historical study" and not Western Society.

But Toynbee's contention is that the Orthodox Christian Society has fulfilled its purpose in preserving Hellenism and transmitting it to the West for the Renaissance. It has outlived its usefulness and really has no *raison d'être*; besides, it is already "under threat of annihilation or assimilation by our own civilisation of the West." ⁸¹

This is where Toynbee has suffered a serious deception. Unable to transcend the limits of his own culture and the resulting preconceptions, he has failed to see that the Orthodox Christian Society is a living reality of the present with tremendous potentialities for growth, since it is of divine origin and has a divine destiny, and since the Orthodox Church is its soul and mainspring of life. Nonetheless, the final challenge remains with those who are direct heirs of this Society. The burden of proof rests with them. The most convincing argument will be neither with words nor with scholarship. They must prove by the power of action that the Orthodox Christian Society is not only a present reality, but that it can succeed to achieve what Western Society has failed to do for the modern World.

HOLY CROSS
GREEK ORTHODOX THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL

⁸¹ Op. cit. IV, 2.



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EDITORIALS

TRUTH FROM EARTH: RIGHTEOUSNESS FROM HEAVEN

The birth of Christ, though considered unimportant by the powerful leaders of the world at one time, succeeded, however, in giving meaning to history, salvation to humanity, and guidance to civilization. For it was in this event that the Truth of the Earth united with the Righteousness of Heaven for the first time.

Prophetic vision had early described the scene of this birth. Godinspired prophets had visited Bethlehem in spirit and heralded its mystery and meaning as the salvation of the world, as the descent of God upon Earth, as the ascent of man unto God, and as the rise of the Truth of the Earth to meet the Righteousness of Heaven: "Truth has sprung from the earth and righteousness has looked down from heaven" (Psalms 84:12, or 85:11).

How was it possible, then, for Truth to rise from an Earth cursed to produce thorns? How could Earth, "where there is none that does good" (Psalms 13:3), give birth to such a glorious product — Truth? The Psalmist in spite of all these sees in his prophetic vision the condemned Earth as the center of glory, where justice and peace become an entity, and where the Lord offers His salvation.

In no other place, except in Bethlehem, can the meaning of this vision be understood. There, in the presence of the Virgin Mother and her Divine Son, the prophetic pronouncement finds its supreme realization.

Let us behold the Virgin Mother of Emmanuel, worthy of God's favor and man's humble admiration. She is "full of grace," the blessed among women. A human being she is; yet she is the embodiment of all human virtue and perfection. She is the Truth of the Earth that became one with the Righteousness of Heaven. All that is humanly beautiful, all that is humanly good, finds its perfection in this human being, the Mother of Emmanuel. For, to be sure, how many centuries was Earth awaiting her coming and the Heavens her prayerful gaze?

Strange though it may be, the Truth of Earth was not based in knowledge, not in riches, not in power. The Truth of Earth emanated from the depths of piety, from the sincerity of faith in God, from humility before His will, and from willingness in serving His plan and obeying His calling.

The Truth of the Earth, in its totality, is found nowhere outside man. For its fullness is neither enfolded in the variety of natural beauty, nor in the order and the design of the world, or in the unending succession of form and motion. In all these realms of existence, the human mind had succeeded in discovering portions of truth and testimonies of the creative power of God (Rom. 1:20). Man, however, was unable to identify the fullness of the Earthly Truth with himself, first, because faith was absent from his knowledge; secondly, because virtue was missing from his search; and finally, because God was not found in his personal life.

Undoubtedly the full reality of knowing God is to be found in man, for there is no other knowing being except man. It is the very same reason that the fullness of Earth's Truth could not be elsewhere except within the limits of a human being. This blessed human being, the most perfect embodiment of the Earth's Truth, was found in the person of the Blessed Virgin Mother of Emmanuel. It was upon her that the Righteousness of Heaven smiled and descended, resulting ultimately in the incarnation of the Son of God. In this ineffable event of the incarnation, we may discern two significant facts, namely, the depth of God's love for us, and the glorious position of man in God's world.

It is no doubt true that man's nature had fallen from its high place and that the means of perceiving its relation to God had been forgotten. It is also true that human intelligence lost its keenness and human imagination lost itself in the darkness of confusion. Nevertheless, ours was not a total loss. Though glory had gone, honor had disappeared, and purity had vanished, man's likeness to and relation with God was not to be disavowed; for God never disregards that which is His own.

For God's love for man, who is His image and likeness and who is the most perfect of His creatures, is unlimited. Is it not for man that God adorns the world? Is it not for man that God sends inspired prophets and teachers who strive to ameliorate human kind through the enactment of just and equitable laws?

In the light of the natural world man finds God, but far from himself. In the light of the Law man again finds God, but against himself. Only when God, the eternal Son, descended and became one of us, only then did man find God in Emmanuel.

For this reason Emmanuel is both the revelation of God and the exaltation of man. In Him, the two sons, the eternal and the temporal, God and man, are united indivisibly. In Him that which is sublime and perfect is interwoven with the infinite.

The Truth of the Earth, embodied in the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the Righteousness of God, descending upon Earth, met each other in Emmanuel, in whom God is with us and we in Him. This is the core of the Gospel and the fullness of our salvation.

God is with us again as He was in the beginning. The question, however, is whether we are with God. Usually, when we despair and are confused with difficulties, tragedies, losses, disappointments, and death, we gloomfully ask: "Is God really with us?" We forget to ask if we are really with God. This, then, is the major question of our time.

If we care to analyze the meaning of all the events of human existence, we easily find that crime is rampant, war is ever threatening us, and hatred negates endeavors to improve the status of man. What are we seeking? Undoubtedly we say that we seek peace, truth, and justice. It is necessary, however, that in order to prove the sincerity of our goals, we must strive to attain strength and inspiration so that the peace we seek will be adopted into our inner personal life; and that the truth we so often proclaim will be shown not only in our words but also in our deeds.

We know from experience that the source of the strength displayed by the enemies of God and man is found in their attachment to deception and falsehood. With this warped type of strength at their disposal, they commit all kinds of criminal actions: They persecute Christ and His Church, undermine the foundations of peace, betray friendships and agreements, and spread confusion and distortions.

For those who share the life of God, the source of all strength and inspiration is found in Emmanuel. From Him they receive power and guidance to actualize their love for peace and justice and truth. Our dedication to Him is expressed in the mystery of prayer: In our invincible faith, in our fervent willingness to confess the truth of His Gospel and utilize His commandments in our life. Above all, our dedication to Him is best indicated by our unshakable courage to defend positive spiritual principles and values as our personal convictions. Our love for Him should be embodied in all works that serve the cause of peace, justice, brotherhood. And our sacrifices for this noble goal will propagate good will among men.

It is necessary, however, to stress that neither faith nor love alone is sufficient; for one is a complement to the other. Loveless faith to Emmanuel is equal to denial; faithless love for Him and for what He stands for is the way of the hypocrite.

Man's longing for divine inspiration and spiritual power necessarily shows the absolute need of interacting faith and love; only in their living unity do we find Truth. The Truth of the Earth when worthy to attract the Righteousness of Heaven purifies the Christian heart and becomes the abiding shelter of Emmanuel. Truth, Righteousness, Peace — what more can a Christian seek?

† BISHOP ATHENAGORAS



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